

MAHOMETANISM UNVEILED:

AN INQUIRY,
IN WHICH
THAT ARCH-HERESY,
ITS DIFFUSION AND CONTINUANCE,
ARE EXAMINED ON A NEW PRINCIPLE,
TENDING TO CONFIRM THE EVIDENCES,
AND AID THE PROPAGATION,
OF
THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

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Mahometanism began as a Christian heresy

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The extraordinary success, which has attended the imposture of Mahomet, has exercised the ingenuity of Christian writers; and yet does not appear to have been satisfactorily explained.

PHILOSOPHY OF MODERN HISTORY.

Ex Hagare Ismaelem suscepit Abrahamus; rem omnem, ad arcanos fines, ita dirigente Numine.

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MAHOMETANISM UNVEILED

SECTION VIII.

ANALOGY OF THE KORAN WITH THE BIBLE.

THE spurious likeness which Mahometanism so scrupulously maintains with Judaism and Christianity, through all the features in which they have been hitherto compared together, may prepare us for the existence of a corresponding resemblance between the three religious systems, in the character and structure of their respective sacred books.

This particular analogy, like those which have preceded it, will, on more near investigation, be found to obtain just in the extent which we are authorized to expect, from the quality of the natural relationship between Isaac and Ishmael : the Bible being just so far successfully imitated by the Koran, as still sufficiently to keep alive the affinity, between the legitimate, and the spurious revelation.

Respecting this part of our subject, it is almost needless to repeat, that the whole of the resemblances to be considered are, from first to last, little else than studied and servile imitations: which we are reminded of the divine original, and are more sensibly to perceive and feel, the disfigurements of its beauties, and the gross perversions of its truths, exhibited by the Koran.

At the same time it is unquestionable, that, in its general design and composition, as well as in its pretensions to inspiration, the latter volume presents a correspondence most circumstantial and extraordinary, with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures: a correspondence, at once, embracing several of the most prominent features of both Testaments, and descending to the minutest peculiarities of their order and distribution.

The groundwork of the proposed comparison has been laid by Mahomet himself: since it was in open and avowed imitation of Moses, and of the tables of the law, that the Arabian impostor pretended to have received, in the chapters of the Koran, a written revelation, sent down to him immediately from heaven. This pseudo-bible, he further constantly affirmed to have been modelled, by the Spirit of God, after the books of the Law and of the Gospel; and to have been

revealed, in order to complete the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. And so far did his scheme of plagiarism carry him forward, in perfecting this branch of the analogy, that, as we have elsewhere remarked *, he even went the studied length of shutting up the chapters of the Koran in a coffer, which he styled the chest of his apostleship ; professing to do so after the example of Moses, who, by divine commandment, had enclosed, in the ark of the Lord, the tables of his law.

The identity of character with the Jewish lawgiver, thus, from the outset, affected by Mahomet, in the putting forth of his pretended revelation, is followed up by a close and literal coincidence in the several *titles*, *divisions*, and *subdivisions*, technically applied, by the Jews, on the one hand, to the volume of the Old Testament, and by Mahomet and his followers, on the other hand, to the Koran.

These external features of agreement are specimens of Mahometan plagiarism, too palpable to have been let pass without animadversion, by preceding writers. Notice, accordingly, has been taken of them, in the dissertation of Mill † ; and this part of the analogy between the Koran and

* Vol. I. p. 285.

† De Mohammed. ante Mohamm. p. 361.

the Old Testament, has been very fully set forth by the learned English translator, in his Preliminary Discourse. We will submit the particulars in the words of Mr. Sale ; beginning with the title *Koran*.

“ The word *Korân*, derived from the verb *karaa*, to read, signifies, properly, in Arabic, the reading, or rather, that which ought to be read ; by which name the Mohammedans denote, not only the entire book or volume of the *Korân*, but, also, any particular chapter or section of it : just as the Jews call either the whole Scripture, or any part of it, by the name of *Karáh*, or *Mikra* ; words of the same origin and import.

“ Besides this peculiar name, the *Korân* is also honoured with several appellations, common to other books of Scripture ; as, *Al Forkán*, from the verb *faraka*, to divide or distinguish : in the same notion that the Jews use the word *Perek*, or *Pirka*, from the same root, to denote a section or portion of Scripture.

“ It is also called *Al Mosháf*, the Volume, and *Al Kitáb*, the Book, by way of eminence ; which answers to the *Biblia* of the Greeks : and *Al Dhikr*, the admonition ; which name is also given to the Pentateuch and Gospel.

“ The *Korân* is divided into 114 larger por-

tions, of very unequal length, which we call chapters, but the Arabians *Sowar*, in the singular *Sûra* ; a word rarely used on any other occasion, and properly signifying a row, order, or regular series ; as a course of bricks, in building, or a rank of soldiers, in an army ; and is the same, in use and import, with the *Sûra*, or *Tora*, of the Jews ; who also call the fifty-three sections of the Pentateuch, *Sedârim*, a word of the same signification. These chapters are not, in the manuscript copies, distinguished by their numerical order ; but, usually, from the first word of note : exactly in the same manner as the Jews have named their *Sedârim*.

“ Every chapter is subdivided into smaller portions, of very unequal length also ; which we customarily call *verses* ; but the Arabic word is *Ayât*, the same with the Hebrew *Ototh*, and signifies signs or wonders ; such as are the secrets of God, his attributes, works, judgments, and ordinances, delivered in these verses.

“ The Mohammedans have in this, also, imitated the Jews, that they have superstitiously numbered the very *words*, and *letters*, of their law ; nay, they have taken the pains to compute the number of times each particular letter of the alphabet is contained in the Korân.

“ Beside these unequal divisions of chapter

and verse, the Mohammedans have also divided their Korân *into sixty equal portions*, which they call *Ahzhâb*, in the singular *Hizb*; each subdivided into four equal parts: which is also an imitation of the Jews; who have an ancient division of their Mishna, *into sixty portions*, called *Massicthoth*.

“Next after *the title*, at the head of every chapter, except only the ninth, is prefixed the following solemn form, by the Mohammedans called the *Bismillah*, IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD; which form they constantly place at the beginning of all their books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark, and distinguishing characteristic of their religion; it being counted a sort of impiety to omit it. The Jews, for the same purpose, make use of the form, IN THE NAME OF THE LORD, or IN THE NAME OF THE GREAT GOD. And the eastern Christians, that of, IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST.”*

From the foregoing extracts it appears, that, in its several titles, divisions, and subdivisions, the volume of the Koran is constructed and distributed with the minutest attention to the titles, divisions, and subdivisions, which had been ap-

* Prelim. Disc. Sect. iii. pp. 74—78.

propriated, by the Jewish church, to the sacred volume of the Old Testament.

The analogy which Mahometanism thus maintains with Judaism, through the medium of their respective sacred books, may be illustrated, in the next place, by a remarkable historical coincidence ; namely, the parallel questions raised by the Moslem doctors, and by the Jewish rabbins, respecting the creation, or the non-creation, of the Koran and of the Pentateuch.

Whether the Koran was created, in time, or had, from all eternity, existed in the essence of God, formed the subject of a celebrated Mahometan controversy ; which, under the Abasside dynasty, gave birth to fierce debates, and cruel persecutions, throughout the eastern empire of the Saracens. The more violent of the controversialists denied, altogether, the doctrine of its creation in time : the more moderate conceded that the Koran was created ; but maintained that its creation took place at a prior date, and in a different and more excellent manner, than that of the heavens, and of the earth, and of all things contained therein. Thus Jahia, in his commentary, affirms, that, “ two thousand years ere he created the heavens and the earth, God wrote the Koran, and deposited it under his throne.” Now the very same claim is advanced

by the tradition of the rabbins, with regard to the books of Moses; to which, rabbinical authority assigns a similar priority of date, and dignity of creation, before all the other works of God. Like the Mahometan, again, the Jewish doctors assert, that the Law, as promulgated in the time of Moses, had been created many ages previously to the creation of the world: and, according to the Gemara, it is styled “a good gift, laid up in the treasury of God; which was created by Him, nine hundred and seventy-four ages before the creation of the world.”*

Another tenet of Mahometans, relative to their Koran, may be noticed in connection with the notion of its pre-existence: I mean the doctrine that the Koran was not revealed to Mahomet, originally as a whole; but that it was sent down from heaven in parts, and communicated to him piece-meal, as the occasion demanded.† This device of the Arabian impostor plainly appears to have been suggested by the rabbinical doctrine touching the Pentateuch: for the Gemara not only affirms, that the books of Moses were originally delivered to him in parts or sections, but defines, also, the several portions,

* Mill, pp. 363—365.

† “We have dictated it gradually; and by distinct parcels.” Koran, chap. xxv.

and assigns the specific occasions of their delivery.*

The outward reverence manifested by the Jews for their Scriptures, is strongly marked, in their traditional law, by the solemn prohibitions, either to touch the volume of the Law with unwashen hands, or to handle it even with purified hands, without the intervention of a case or cover; the neglect of which precautions, the rabbins solemnly denounce as a heinous sacrilege, and imprecate curses on the heads of the offenders: now the very same prohibitions are enacted by Mahometan tradition; which, in like manner, proscribes the handling of the Koran with naked or unwashen hands; and enjoins that the copies of it shall be kept carefully covered with skins bearing this inscription, “Let none touch it except the pure.”†

While, in its whole external history, it bears an affinity, thus circumstantial and peculiar, to the sacred volume of the Jews, the volume of the Mahometan pseudo-scriptures does not want for sufficient spurious marks of internal relation, also, both to the Old and New Testaments.

* Mill, pp. 365, 366.

† “This is the excellent Koran: none shall touch the same, except those who are clean.” Koran, ch. lvi. ad fin. The sentiment appears to have been taken from the Greek philosophy. It was a maxim of Socrates, touching the reverence due to God, *μη καθαρῷ καθάρου ἐφαπτεσθαι, μη οὐ θεμιτον*. Compare Mill, ut supr. pp. 366, 367.

The Koran, it will be recollected, was delivered by Mahomet, professedly as the completion of the former Scriptures of the Law and Gospel; as a further revelation, that is to say, perfective of both; and advancing, in its turn, on the revelation of the Gospel, as this had previously advanced on that of the Mosaic law. On this footing, accordingly, the book of the Koran was actually received, among the earliest converts of the Arabian antichrist*; a fact which, besides other evidences, may be clearly deduced from the declaration made by one of the primitive Mussulmans, in announcing the pretended mission of Mahomet, to the Christian King of Ethiopia: "He has with him," said Giafar, "a glorious book, *resembling the book of Jesus, the son of Mary*; with which it maintains, throughout, a *perfect consent and agreement*."†

So far, therefore, as the *professed* character and object of the Koran are in question, Mahometanism appears consistently to maintain its providential relation to Judaism and Christianity as the spurious copy of both revelations.

Nor, notwithstanding its gross fabrications, and its egregious absurdities, will *the contents* of

* "Ipsi Mohammedani Alcoranum Evangelio similem prædicant." Mill, p. 341.

† Ib. p. 342

the Koran, on a nearer inspection, be found, in the main, at variance with the kind of resemblance which it has been thus far shown to preserve, with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

Not to anticipate the more circumstantial coincidences, we will, for the present, only observe, that, in its general outline of facts, the Koran corresponds with the Old Testament, in the following historical details: the accounts, of the creation of the world; of the fall of Adam; of the general deluge; of the deliverance of Noah and his family in the ark; the call of Abraham; the stories of Isaac and Ishmael; of Jacob and the Patriarchs; the selection of the Jews, as God's chosen people; the prophetic office, miracles, and administration of Moses; the giving of the Mosaic law; the inspiration and authority of the Hebrew prophets, psalmists, and hagiographers, especially of David and Solomon; the account, lastly, of the promise delivered, through the Jewish prophets, of the advent of the Messiah; with several of the accompanying predictions respecting the manner of his birth, the nature of his office, the signs of his ministry, and the final object of his mission.

Again, with the New Testament, the Koran concurs, in the recognition of Jesus Christ, as

the promised Messiah of the Jews ; in his miraculous conception by the breath, or spirit, of God ; his immaculate nativity, of the Virgin Mary ; his title of the Logos or Word of God ; in the miraculous birth of John, the son of Zacharias, to be his appointed forerunner ; in his performance of many mighty signs and miracles, such as the healing of the sick, the raising of the dead, and the controuling or casting out of devils, in attestation of his heavenly mission ; in his rejection and persecution by his own countrymen ; his condemnation to the death of the cross* ; his bodily ascension into heaven ; and the abiding consummation of his prophetic functions, in the eternal world, in his characters of Mediator and Intercessor, between God and man ; and of Judge of all men at the last day.

When, however, we come to a nearer examination of the text of the Koran, its numerous coincidences with the facts and doctrines of the Bible, appear strangely interspersed with matter the most incongruous ; with extravagant fables, monstrous perversions of truth, and ridiculous and endless puerilities. Now, instead of detracting from the argumentative force of the actual

* After the example of the ancient heretics, the Cerinthians, Basilidians, and Carpocratians, Mahomet denied the reality of our Lord's crucifixion. See Koran, chap. iii, iv. with Mr. Sale's notes, vol. i. pp. 64. and 124.

analogy between the Koran and the Bible, this spurious admixture but serves to illustrate and confirm our whole previous reasonings : since, while both the matters of fact, and the matters of faith, which the Koran appears to hold in common with Judaism and Christianity, may be clearly traced to the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures ; its fictions and absurdities can be not less clearly deduced, on the one hand, from the traditions of the talmudic and rabbinical writers ; and, on the other hand, from the apocryphal gospels, or from the books of Adam, of Seth, of Enoch, of Noah, and other similar fabrications, well known in church history as having been extensively in use among the heretics of the first centuries.*

And thus, when its anomalous contents come to be reduced into some order, and to be referred to the several sources whence they were evidently drawn, the pseudo-bible of Mahometanism exhibits just the kind of text and character of construction, which properly belongs to it, regarded as an antichristian parody of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

We will now proceed to exemplify these general remarks, by a short analysis of the contents of the Koran, in which it will be our chief object to illustrate the nature and amount of

* Sale, Prelim. Disc. p. 83. See also p. 98.

its spurious parallel with the Law and Gospel. With this view, we shall begin with passages of the Koran which directly class the Mahometan Bible, so called, with the Old and New Testaments :

“ We have surely sent down THE LAW, containing direction and light : thereby did THE PROPHETS, who professed the true religion, judge those who judaized.

“ We also caused Jesus, the son of Mary, to follow the footsteps of the Prophets ; confirming the Law, which was sent down before him : and we gave him THE GOSPEL, containing direction and light ; confirming, also, the Law, which was given before it.

“ We have also sent down unto thee [Mahomet] THE BOOK OF THE KORAN, with truth ; confirming THAT SCRIPTURE which was revealed before it, and preserving the same safe from corruption.”*

In these passages, the Koran formally challenges its places beside the sacred volumes of the Law and the Gospel, as sent to perfect both† ; and as forming, together with them, the sum of God’s written revelation.

* Sale’s Koran, vol. i. pp. 139, 140.

† So also in the third chapter : “ God hath sent down unto thee the book of the Koran with truth, confirming that which was revealed before it ; for he had formerly sent down the Law, and the Gospel, a direction unto men.” Koran, chap. iii. ad init. Cf. ch. xii. ad fin. and ch. xlv. vol. ii. p. 372. also, ch. li. ad fin.

In another part, it arrogates to itself the same high distinction, if possible in more set terms ; uniting itself with the Old and New Testaments, under the authoritative titles of “ THE LAW, and THE GOSPEL, and THE OTHER SCRIPTURES ;” and representing these three volumes as together constituting the one true manual of the faithful, and the sum of all extant written revelation.

In a third place, we find the following words, declaratory of the common origin and object of the Mosaic and Mahometan written laws : “ We formerly gave unto Moses and Aaron THE LAW, being a distinction between good and evil, and a light and admonition unto the pious ; and THIS Book [the Koran], also, is a blessed admonition, which we have sent down from heaven.”

Again : “ We have given thee THE KORAN, as we gave THE PSALMS to David.”*

In contemplating this important branch of the general analogy, we are, therefore, to consider, that the comparison between the Bible and the Koran was first instituted by Mahomet himself ; and that, by publishing it as the completion of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, he has stamped this pretended revelation, through all its scriptural plagiarisms and imitations, as the book of antichrist.

* Sale's Koran, vol. i. p. 125.

It is equally deserving of consideration, that the followers of Mahomet have ever zealously maintained the pretensions of the Koran, to this designed and immediate connection with the Old and New Testaments : that they not only admit, but argue from, the existence of a parallel between the three volumes ; strongly insisting on the conformity of the Koran with the Bible, as one of the chief proofs of its inspiration.

The spurious resemblance of the Koran to the sacred volume has often engaged the notice of Christian writers. But fully to establish the antichristian character of this resemblance, it is essential, that it should have been thus contrived by Mahomet, and maintained by his followers, with the set purpose of identifying the Koran with the Scriptures of both Testaments.

The case does not demand, nor will our limits admit, such an analysis of the text of the Koran, as might enable us fully to trace its manifold and multiform plagiarisms, to their original sources in the Law and Gospel. Our object, therefore, must be, rather, by select examples, to indicate the nature of the correspondence, than to specify its amount.

But, before we adduce specimens of this parallel, in its details, it would seem expedient briefly to consider, in a general way, the extent

to which the Scriptures of both Testaments are, in fact, copied after in the Koran ; and, also, the method, and apparent design, observable in its plagiarisms and imitations.

The question, how far, when he compiled his pretended Scriptures, Mahomet was acquainted or unacquainted with the volume of holy writ, has been frequently agitated, in discussions on the Mahometan controversy ; and, as it would seem, to very little purpose. On this, as well as on many other particulars, in the history of Mahometanism, the Christian world might have been spared much profitless speculation, if, instead of loosely theorizing on the probable, or possible, amount of Mahomet's knowledge of the Bible, former inquirers had examined attentively, and accurately ascertained, the extent in which he *has* actually employed the materials of the Old and New Testaments, in the construction of his Koran.

On collating the text of the Koran with that of the Bible, with this view, from the general character of the correspondence there will be found to arise new proof and illustration of the just title of Mahometanism to the place assigned to it in these pages, as, at once, the offspring of the covenant with Ishmael, and the spurious counterpart of the religion of Isaac. From what

has been advanced by the generality of writers, respecting the construction of the Koran, we are led to suppose that Mahomet, in the execution of his task, proceeded wholly without order or design ; and that, in all his imitations and plagiarisms, he copied at random from the Old and New Testaments. This, however, is very far from being the case. On the contrary, the facts are altogether irreconcilable with such a supposition. It may be stated, as the result of an impartial scrutiny of its text, that, amidst all that apparent disorder and incoherence of which the Koran stands most justly accused, its author certainly went with great regularity after a system of his own, in his use, or abuse, of the sacred Volume ; and that he has carried on his plagiarisms, within very defined limits. Indeed, that this is so, must be clear to every one who will be at the trouble to observe, how, together with its numerous petty thefts from both Testaments, the pseudo-bible of Mahometanism contains a set series of scriptural relations, on which it specially builds its teaching ; and to which it constantly recurs, for the proof and confirmation of its doctrines.

These favourite authorities of the Koran are, the stories of Adam*, of Noah, of Abraham, of

* For Mahomet's account of the fall of our first parents, see Koran, chap. ii. vii. xx.

Lot, of Jacob, Joseph, and the Patriarchs, of Moses and Aaron, and of David and Solomon, out of the Old Testament; and the accounts of Zacharias, of John the Baptist, of the Virgin Mary, and of Jesus Christ, from the New. Thus the story of Noah, first recited in the seventh, is repeated in the eleventh, the twenty-second, the twenty-sixth, the twenty-ninth, the fifty-fourth, and the seventy-first, chapters: that of Abraham, in the second, third, fourth, sixth, eleventh, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-first, twenty-ninth, thirty-seventh, fifty-first, and sixtieth: that of Lot, in the seventh, eleventh, fifteenth, and twenty-seventh: the history of Jacob and the twelve patriarchs, elsewhere repeatedly alluded to, is given at large in the twelfth chapter, entitled "Joseph:" the life and actions of Moses are recounted through the second, sixth, seventh, tenth, seventeenth, twentieth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth chapters: Job is noticed in the twenty-first, and thirty-eighth: David and Solomon, in the second, the twenty-first, the twenty-seventh, the thirty-fourth, and the thirty-eighth. Besides the various incidental allusions, both to these, and to other Old Testament worthies.

On the other hand, we find the narratives of the New Testament similarly introduced; al-

though, as might be easily anticipated, its authority is far less frequently appealed to, and its facts are much more sparingly travestied. Thus, in the third and in the nineteenth chapters of the Koran, we have references to the histories of Zacharias, and of Saint John the Baptist: and in the second, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, nineteenth, and forty-third, there occur mangled misrepresentations of the Gospel narratives, concerning the Virgin Mary, and Jesus Christ.

The prominence here so palpably given to the Old Testament, in preference to the New, is only in unison with the whole character and constitution of Mahometanism, as hitherto delineated. For Mahomet originally announced his religion, as a revival of the religion of Abraham, or of the patriarchal faith: and, conformably with this announcement, his pretended revelation is accordingly modelled after the Hebrew, rather than after the Evangelic, Scriptures.

A specimen or two may suffice to exemplify the closeness with which the Koran sometimes follows the narratives of the Old Testament.

“ Our messengers also came formerly unto Abraham with good tidings. They said, Peace be upon thee! And he answered, And on you be peace! and he tarried not, but brought a roasted calf. And his wife, Sarah, was standing

by ; and she laughed : and we promised her Isaac, and after Isaac, Jacob. She said, Alas ! shall I bear a son, who am old ; this my husband also being advanced in years ? Verily, this would be a wonderful thing. The angels answered, Dost thou wonder at the effect of the command of God ? The mercy of God, and his blessings, be upon you. And when his apprehension had departed from Abraham, and the good tidings of Isaac's birth had come unto him, he disputed with us concerning the people of Lot : for Abraham was a pitiful, compassionate, and devout person. The angels said unto him, O Abraham, abstain from this ; for now is the command of thy Lord come, to put their sentence in execution, and an inevitable punishment is ready to fall upon them. And when our messengers came unto Lot, he was troubled for them ; and his arm was straitened concerning them ; and he said, This is a grievous day. And his people came unto him, rushing upon him : and they had formerly been guilty of wickedness. Lot said unto them, O my people, these my daughters are more lawful for you : therefore fear God, and put me not to shame by wronging my guests. Is there not a man of prudence among you ? They answered, Thou knowest that we have no need of thy daughters ; and thou well knowest

what we would have. He said, If I had strength sufficient to oppose thee, or I could have recourse unto a powerful support, I would certainly do it. The angels said, O Lot, verily we are the messengers of thy Lord; they shall by no means come in unto thee. Go forth, therefore, with thy family, in some part of the night, and let not any of you turn back: but as for thy wife, that shall happen unto her which shall happen unto them. Verily, the prediction of their punishment shall be fulfilled in the morning: Is not the morning near?" *

“And Abraham said, Verily, I am going unto my Lord, who will direct me. O Lord, grant me a righteous issue! Wherefore we acquainted him that he should have a son, who should be a meek youth. And when he had attained to years of discretion, and could join in acts of religion with him, Abraham said unto him, O my son, verily I saw in a dream that I should offer thee in sacrifice: consider therefore what thou art of opinion I should do. He answered, O my father, do what thou art commanded: thou shalt find me, if God please, a patient per-

* Sale's Koran, vol. ii. pp. 27—29. It is remarkable, that the events related in this passage of the Koran, are related *in the same order* in which they occur, in the eighteenth and nineteenth chapters of Genesis: an additional presumption that, however distorted in passing through the hands of Mahomet, the facts were borrowed *immediately* from Scripture.

son. And when they had submitted themselves to the divine will, and Abraham had laid his son prostrate on his face, we cried unto him, O Abraham, now hast thou verified the vision. Thus do we reward the righteous. Verily this was a manifest trial. And we ransomed him with a noble victim.”*

The following passage may serve to illustrate the kind of correspondence, which the Koran maintains with the historical relations of the New Testament.

“ Zacharias called on his Lord, and said, Lord, give me from thee a good offspring, for thou art the hearer of prayer. And the Angels called to him, while he stood praying in the chamber, saying, Verily, God promiseth thee a son, named John, who shall bear witness to THE WORD which cometh from God; an honourable person, chaste, and one of the righteous prophets. He answered, Lord, how shall I have a son, when old age hath overtaken me, and my wife is barren? The Angel said, So God doth that which he pleaseth. Zacharias answered, Lord, give me a sign. The Angel said, Thy sign shall be, that thou shalt speak unto no man for three days, otherwise than by gesture. And when the Angels said, O Mary, verily, God hath chosen

* Sale's Koran, chap. xxxvii. vol. ii pp. 312, 313.

thee, and hath purified thee, and hath chosen thee above all the women of the world. When the Angels said, O Mary, verily, God sendeth thee good tidings, that thou shalt bear THE WORD, proceeding from himself; his name shall be Christ Jesus, the son of Mary; honourable in this world, and in the world to come, and one of those who approach near to the presence of God: She answered, Lord, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me? The Angel said, So God createth that which he pleaseth: when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is: God shall teach him the Scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel; and shall appoint him his apostle to the children of Israel.” *

But, besides agreements with the Old and New Testaments, of this palpable kind, the Koran betrays its obligations to both these sacred volumes, by numerous coincidences, more or less direct, with the sentiments, the images, and the phraseology of Scripture. The nature of

* Sale's Koran, chap. iii. pp. 61—63. Amidst wilful perversions and variations, the preservation of *the order and connection* of the Gospel narrative is what particularly claims our observation. In the Koran, as in the New Testament, the vision of Zacharias, and the promise of John, duly precede the Annunciation to the blessed Virgin, and the miraculous conception and nativity of Jesus Christ. The fact is important, as one among the many marks discernible in the Koran, of designed and studied plagiarism from Scripture.

the spurious analogy, between the pseudo-bible of Mahometanism, and our sacred books, may, in the next place, therefore, be illustrated by a selection of coincidences of this description : which shall be presented side by side with the parallel passages of Scripture.

BIBLE.

Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them ; otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven. †

But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth ; that thine alms may be in secret : ‡ and thy Father, which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee openly. §

KORAN.*

Make not your alms of none effect, by reproaching, or mischief ; as he who layeth out what he hath, to appear unto men to give alms. Vol. i. chap. ii. p. 50. †

If ye make your alms to appear, it is well ; but if ye conceal them, and give them unto the poor, this will be better for you, ‡ and will atone for your sins : and God is well informed of that which ye do. Ib. p. 51.

* Sale's translation. The passages which follow might have been easily arranged under heads : but it has been judged more simple and satisfactory, to take them nearly in the order in which they occur in the Koran.

† " They who lay out their substance for the religion of God, and afterwards follow not what they have so laid out by reproaches or mischief, they shall have their reward with their Lord." Koran, ib. The more strongly marked plagiarisms may be sometimes completed from the context of the Koran : such passages shall be occasionally added at the foot of the page.

‡ How marked the contrast, in this imitation, between the uncompromising spirit of the Gospel, and the accommodating facility of the Koran. Our Lord enjoins secrecy in well-doing : Mahomet leaves the choice of concealment, or publicity.

§ " They who distribute alms of their substance, night and day, in private and in public, shall have their reward with their Lord." Koran, ch. ii. p. 51.

BIBLE.

And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. St. Matth. vi. 1—5.

Give alms of such things as ye have. St. Luke, xi. 41.

When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed: for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just. Ib. xiv. 13, 14.

For the Lord giveth wisdom. Prov. ii. 6.

Whoso is wise, will ponder these things. Ps. cvii. 43.

Unto you therefore which believe he is precious: but unto them which be disobedient — a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence. But ye are a chosen ge-

KORAN.

The hypocrites act deceitfully with God: when they stand up to pray, they stand carelessly, affecting to be seen of men. Ch. iv. p. 122.

Bestow alms of the good things which ye have gained. Ch. ii. p. 51.

The good that ye shall give in alms, shall redound unto yourselves: and ye shall not give unless out of desire of seeing the face of God: and what good things ye shall give in alms, it shall be repaid you: unto the poor, &c. Ch. ii. p. 51.*

God giveth wisdom unto whom he pleaseth:

But none will consider, except the wise in heart. Ib.

God is the patron of those who believe;

He shall lead them out of darkness into light:

But as to those who believe not,

* Another passage, p. 52. of this context, plainly seems taken from our Lord's parable, St. Luke, xviii. 23—35. "If there be any debtor under a difficulty of paying his debt, let his creditor wait, till it be easy for him to do it: but if ye remit it as alms, it will be better for you, if ye knew it. And fear the day wherein ye shall return unto God: then shall every soul be paid what it hath gained."

BIBLE.

KORAN.

neration — that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. 1 Pet. ii. 7—9.

Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word, before God and all the people. St. Luke, xxiv. 19.

Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him. Acts, iii. 22.

Consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus. (Heb. iii. 1.) And the Word was made flesh. (St. John, i. 14.) I proceeded forth and came from God. (Ib. viii. 42.) Christ took upon him the form of a servant. (Philipp. ii. 7.) †

* i. e. Idols, or demons.

† The reader will not fail to remark, that, with one exception, the above coincidences occur in the same chapter of the Koran ; and within the space of three or four pages.

‡ This passage of the Koran is compiled quite in the spirit of modern Unitarianism. Like his heretical successors, those very passages of Scripture which most strongly affirm the divinity of Christ, the Arabian impostor perverts into denials of that divinity. The first chapter of Saint John, and the second of Philippians, adduced to prove that Christ is *not* God ! It should not be lost sight of *whence* the Unitarians of later times have stolen their boasted denomination : **الموحدين** “ The Unitarians,” was, in every age, the favourite title of the Moslems. See Bohadin. Vit. Saladin. p. 104.

Their patrons are Tagut ;* They shall lead them from the light into darkness. Ib. p. 48. †

We gave evident miracles unto Jesus the son of Mary, and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit. Ch. ii. p. 17.

We gave unto Jesus the son of Mary manifest signs, and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit. Ib. p. 47.

Verily, Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, is the Apostle of God ; and his Word which he conveyed into Mary ; and a spirit proceeding from him. Christ doth not proudly disdain to be a servant unto God. Ch. iv. p. 126. ‡

BIBLE.

KORAN.

Jesus said unto them, The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk; the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear; the dead are raised up. St. Luke, vii. 22.

Who can forgive sins but God alone? Ib. v. 21.

Godliness is profitable unto all things :

Having promise of the life that now is,

And of that which is to come. 1 Tim. iv. 8.

I the Lord search the heart ; I try the reins. Jer. xvii. 10.

Be not afraid of them that kill the body ;

But fear Him, which hath power to cast into hell. St. Luke, xii. 4, 5.

He that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me. St. Matt. x. 40.

Such were some of you : but ye are sanctified by the Spirit of our God. 1 Cor. vi. 11.

These sinners against their own souls. Num. xvi. 38.

He [Jesus] shall say — I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth ; and the leper ;

and I will raise the dead.* Ch. iii. p. 64.

Who forgiveth sins except God ? Ib. p. 79.

And God gave them the reward of this world ;

And a glorious reward in the life to come :

For God loveth the well-doers. † Ib. p. 81.

And this came to pass :

That God might try what was in your breasts ;

And might discern what was in your hearts. Ib. p. 83.

Be ye not afraid of them ;

But fear me, if ye be true believers. Ib. p. 87.

Whoever obeyeth the apostle, obeyeth God. Ch. iv. p. 109.

Such have ye formerly been : but God hath been gracious unto you. Ib. p. 113.

Whoso committeth wickedness, committeth it against his own soul. Ib. p. 116.

* These scriptural signs are adulterated in the Koran, by the ridiculous legend of the creation of a bird from clay.

† " For God loveth a cheerful giver." 2 Cor. ix. 7.

BIBLE.

For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance. Heb. vi. 4—6.

Think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our Father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. St. Matth. iii. 9.

But woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation, St. Matth. xxiii. 13, 14.

KORAN.

Moreover, they who believed, and afterwards became infidels, and then believed again, and after that disbelieved, and increased in infidelity, God will by no means forgive them, nor direct them into the right way. Ib. p. 121.

If He pleaseth, he will take you away, O men, and will produce others in your stead: for God is able to do this. Ib. p. 120.

Because of the iniquity of those who judaize, and because they shut out many from the way of God, and have taken usury, which was forbidden them by the law, and devoured man's substance vainly; we have prepared for such of them as are unbelievers, a painful punishment. Ib. p. 125.*

* It is the Jews who are spoken of in the above contexts; and it is very remarkable, with how much precision the denunciations of Scripture are applied to them. Among other accusations here preferred against them, it is said, "They have made void their covenant; and have not believed in the signs of God; and have slain the prophets unjustly; and have said, our hearts are uncircumcised," &c. p. 123, 124. Allusions applied so correctly and in point, as to make it almost clear that they were taken immediately from Scripture.

BIBLE.

Harden not your hearts, as in the day of temptation in the wilderness. Forty years long was I grieved with this generation. Psalm xcv. 8. 10.

Thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe. Exod. xxi. 23. 25.

But their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same veil untaken away, in the reading of the Old Testament. But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. 2 Cor. iii. 14, 15.

They said therefore unto him, What sign shewest thou

KORAN.

We have cursed them, and hardened their hearts. Verily the land shall be forbidden them forty years. Ch. v. p. 132. 134.

We have therein [in the Law] commanded them, that they should give life for life, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth, and that wounds should also be punished by retaliation.* Ib. p. 139, 140.

There is of them who hearkeneth unto thee, when thou readest the Koran; but we have cast veils over their hearts, that they should not understand it, and a deafness in their ears. Ch. vi. p. 160.

The infidels say, unless some sign be sent down unto

* Besides verbal variations, Mahomet adds a precept not contained in the Pentateuch, "But whoever should remit it as alms, it should be accepted as an atonement for him." The addition was evidently made with design; and, it would seem, with a benevolent purpose: namely, by thus softening down the Jewish law of retaliation, to abate the vindictive spirit of retaliation among the Arabs. The mention of *wounds* may show that Mahomet followed Exodus, rather than the parallel places of Leviticus or Deuteronomy.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

then, that we may see, and believe thee?* St. John vi. 30.

He who hath clean hands, and a pure heart. Ps. xxiv. 4.

For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things †; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled. Acts, xv. 28, 29.

In the beginning God created the heaven, and the earth. And God said, Let there be light : and there was light. Gen. i. 1. 3.

Thy word is truth. St. John, xvii. 17.

And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ. Rev. xi. 15.

him from his Lord, we will not believe.* Ib. p. 162.

Leave both the outside of iniquity, and the inside thereof. Ib. p. 177.

I find not in that which hath been revealed unto me, any thing forbidden unto the eater, except that which dieth of itself, or blood poured forth, or swine's flesh; or that which is profane, having been slain in the name of some other than God. Ib. p. 182.

It is He who hath created the heavens, and the earth. And whenever he saith unto a thing, Be, it is.

His word is the truth.

And His will be the kingdom, *on the day whereon the trumpet shall be sounded.* Ib. p. 168.

* In Mahomet's day, as in our Lord's, the infatuated Jews, in particular, continued to "seek after a sign!"

† "O Lord, lay not on us a burthen like that which thou hast laid on those who have been before us," (i. e. the Jews.) Koran, ch. iii. ad fin. where, as above, the allusion is to prohibited meats. See Mr. Sale's note c.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

In six days the Lord made heaven and earth. *Exod.xx. 11.*

And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: He made the stars also. *Gen.i.16.*

It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. *St.Matth.xix. 24.*

And he [Moses] was there with the Lord forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread nor drink water: and he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments. *Exod.xxxiv. 28.*

And he [Moses] said, I beseech thee, shew me thy glory. And He [the Lord] said, Thou canst not see my face; for there shall no man see me, and live. *Exod.xxxiii. 18. 20.*

And He said unto Moses, Come up unto the Lord, thou

God created the heavens and the earth in six days: He causeth the night to cover the day; it succeedeth the same swiftly: He also created the sun, and the moon, and the stars. *Ch.vii. p.194.**

The gates of heaven shall not be opened unto them, neither shall they enter into paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle. *Ib. p.191, 192.*

And we appointed unto Moses a fast, before we gave him the law; and the stated time of his Lord was fulfilled in forty nights. And we wrote for him on the tables an admonition concerning every matter, and a decision in every case. *Ib. p.210,211.*

And when Moses came at our appointed time, and his Lord spake unto him, he said, O Lord! shew me thy glory, that I may behold thee. God answered, Thou shalt in no wise behold me. *Ib. p.210.*

And Moses chose out of his people seventy men, to

* The account of the Fall, in this chapter, is imitated very closely after the narrative in Genesis. See p. 188, 189.

BIBLE.

and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel. Exod. xxiv. 1.

Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden. Take my yoke upon you. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light. St. Matth. xi. 28—30.

The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as *swift* as the eagle flieth:—a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor show favour to the young. — And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other. Deut. xxviii. 49, 50. 64.

If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple. St. Luke, xiv. 26, 27. Compare St. Mark, x. 21, 22.

KORAN.

go up with him to the mountain at the time appointed by us. Ib. p. 213.

And he [Mahomet] will ease them of their heavy burden, and of the yokes which were upon them. Ib. p. 214.

And remember when thy Lord declared, that he would surely send against the Jews, until the day of resurrection, some nation who should afflict them with a grievous oppression: for thy Lord is *swift* in punishing:—and we dispersed them among the nations of the earth. Ib. p. 216.

If your fathers, and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and your substance which ye have acquired, and your merchandize which ye apprehend may not be sold off, and your dwellings wherein ye delight, be more dear unto you than God, and his apostle, and the advancement of his religion, &c. Ch. ix. p. 241.

BIBLE.

And when he [Moses] was full forty years old, it came into his heart to visit his brethren the children of Israel. Acts, vii. 23.

And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up. Dan. viii. 23.

I will open my mouth in parables;

I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world. St. Matth. xiii. 35.

My servant Moses is not so: — With him will I speak mouth to mouth — and not in dark speeches. Num. xii. 8.

For sin shall not have dominion over you:

For ye are not under the law, but under grace. Rom. vi. 14. cf. 2, 3. 15.

Who maketh the dumb, or

KORAN.

I have already dwelt among you to the age of forty years, before I received it [the Koran]. Do ye, therefore, not understand? Vol. ii. ch. x. p. 2.

According to thy dream, shall thy Lord chuse thee, and teach thee the interpretation of dark sayings.

We taught him the interpretation of dark sayings: but the greater part of men do not understand.

O Lord, thou hast given me a part of the kingdom; and hast taught me the interpretation of dark sayings.

This is a secret history, which we reveal unto thee, O Mohammed. * Ib. ch. xii. pp. 35. 38. 52.

Verily God will not change his grace which is in men, until they change the disposition in their souls, by sin. Ch. xiii. p. 55.

Shall the blind and the

* For the application of Dan. viii. 23, to Mahomet, see Vol. i. pp. 181, 182. The prediction seems specially appropriated to himself, in the above passage of the Koran. The understanding of dark sayings, we see, was a distinguishing mark of the prophetic characters and offices of Christ and Moses: to lay claim to this distinction, therefore, was essential to the pretensions of the Arabian antichrist.

BIBLE.

deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? Exod. iv. 11.

For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? St. Matth. xvi. 26.

Who is wise, and he shall understand these things?

Prudent, and he shall know them? Hos. xiv. 9.

Shall he break the covenant, and be delivered? Ezek. xvii. 15.

What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. St. Matth. xix. 6.

Give alms of such things as ye have. St. Luke, xi. 41.

Be not overcome of evil; but overcome evil with good. Rom. xii. 21.

And so, after he had patiently endured, he obtained the promises. Heb. vi. 15.

KORAN.

seeing be esteemed equal? Ib. p. 57.

Those who obey him not, although they were possessed of whatever is in the whole earth, and as much more, they would give it all for their ransom. Ib.

Shall he therefore, who knoweth that what hath been sent down unto thee from thy Lord is truth, be rewarded as he who is blind? The prudent only will consider; who fulfil the covenant of their God, and break not their contract; and who join that which God hath commanded to be joined; and who fear their Lord, and dread an ill account; and who persevere out of a sincere desire to please their Lord; and observe the stated times of prayer; and give alms out of what we have bestowed on them, in secret and openly; and who turn away evil with good. Ib.

Peace be upon you, because ye have endured with patience; but as for those who violate the covenant of

BIBLE.

What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. St. Mark, x. 9.

If ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed; it shall be done. St. Matth. xxi. 21.

The Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light. Acts, xxvi. 18.

Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world. 2 Tim. iv. 10. cf. ii. 4. and St. Luke, viii. 14. xxi. 34. Wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? Acts, xiii. 10. They have made them crooked paths. Isaiah, lix. 8.

Exod. iii, iv. &c. passim.

See St. Mark, iv. 31—34.

And he shall be like a tree, planted by the rivers of water,

KORAN.

God; and who cut in sunder that which God hath commanded to be joined.* Ib. p. 58.

Though a Koran were revealed, by which mountains should be removed. Ib.

This book have we sent down unto thee, that thou mayest lead men forth from darkness into light. Ch. xiv. ad init.

Woe be to the infidels,—who love the present life above that which is to come; and turn men aside from the way of God, and seek to render it crooked. Ib. ib.

We formerly sent Moses with our signs, and commanded him, saying, Lead forth thy people from darkness into light. Ib. p. 62.

Dost thou not see how God putteth forth a parable, representing a good word as a

* This favourite common-place of the Koran is manifestly borrowed from our Lord's words, St. Matth. xix. 6. St. Mark, x. 11.; and invariably misapplied. See Sale's Koran, vol. ii. p. 57. note b. To divert the language of Scripture from its original sense was the constant custom, or artifice, of Mahomet.

BIBLE.

that bringeth forth his fruit in his season. Ps. i. 3. cf. lxxx. 8—11.

Who changed the truth of God into a lie. Rom. i. 25.

The ungodly prosper in the world. When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me: until I went into the sanctuary of God; then understood I their end. Ps. lxxiii. 12. 16, 17.

For, behold, I create new heavens, and a new earth. Isaiah, lxv. 17. Look for new heavens, and a new earth. 2 Pet. iii. 13. I will cause you to come up out of your graves. Ezek. xxxvii. 12. When shall I come and appear before God? Ps. xlii. 2. And every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour. 1 Cor. iii. 8.

And they laughed him to scorn. St. Matth. ix. 24. cf. 2 Chron. xxx. 10. Neh. ii. 19. Job, xii. 4.*

KORAN.

good tree, whose root is firmly fixed in the earth, and whose branches reach unto heaven; which bringeth forth its fruit in all seasons. Ib. p. 65.

Who have changed the grace of God to infidelity. Ib.

Think not, O Prophet, that God is regardless of what the ungodly do. He only deferreth their punishment unto the day, &c. Ib. pp. 67, 68.

The day will come, when the earth shall be changed into another earth, and the heavens into other heavens; and men shall come forth from their graves, to appear before the only, the mighty God. That God may reward every soul, according to what it shall have deserved. Ib. pp. 68, 69.

There came no apostle unto them, but they laughed him to scorn.* Ch. xv. p. 70.

* The references in the text mark with what accuracy the Koran makes this assertion.

BIBLE.

I was envious at the foolish,
 When I saw the prosperity
 of the wicked,
 Thus my heart was grieved.
 Ps. lxxiii. 21. cf. xxxvii. 1.
 xlix. 16.

I will instruct thee, and
 teach thee in the way which
 thou shall go. Ps. xxxii. 8.

Rejoice, O young man, in
 thy youth, and let thy heart,
 &c.; but know thou that, for
 all these things, God will
 bring thee into judgment.
 Eccl. xi. 9.

If thou, Lord, shouldest
 mark iniquities,
 O Lord, who shall stand?
 Ps. cxxx. 3.

In a moment, in the twink-
 ling of an eye, at the last
 trump. 1 Cor. xv. 52.

He that feareth Him, and
 worketh righteousness, is ac-
 cepted with Him. Acts, x.
 36.

For this people's heart is
 waxed gross;

And their ears are dull of
 hearing;

And their eyes they have
 closed. St. Matth. xiii.
 15.

According to their deeds,

KORAN.

Cast not thine eyes on the
 good things which we have
 bestowed on several of the
 unbelievers, so as to covet
 the same; neither be thou
 grieved on their account.
 Ib. p. 74.

It appertaineth unto God,
 to instruct men in the right
 way. Ch. xvi. p. 76.

Delight yourselves in the
 enjoyments of this life;
 But hereafter shall ye know,
 that ye cannot escape the
 divine vengeance. Ib. p. 82.

If God should punish men
 for their iniquity,
 He would not leave on the
 earth any moving thing. Ib.

The business of the last
 hour shall be only as the
 twinkling of an eye. Ib. p. 85.

Whoso worketh righteous-
 ness, and is a true believer,
 we will surely raise him to
 a happy life. Ib. p. 88.

These are they, whose hearts,
 and hearing,

and sight, God hath sealed
 up. Ib. p. 92.

Every soul shall be repaid

BIBLE.

accordingly will he repay. Isaiah, lix. 18. cf. Prov. xiii. 21.

And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men, every where, to repent. Acts, xvii. 30.

The merciful doeth good to his own soul:

But he that is cruel, troubleth his own flesh. Prov. xi. 17. cf. viii. 36.

The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father;

Neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son:

The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him;

And the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. Ezek. xviii. 20.

Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God; and Him only shalt thou serve. St. Matth. iv. 10.

Children, obey you parents in the Lord: for this is right. Honour thy father and mother (which is the first commandment with promise), that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth. Ephes. vi. 1. 3.

KORAN.

that which it shall have wrought. Ib. ib.

Moreover thy Lord will be favourable unto those who do evil through ignorance; and afterwards repent and amend. Ib. p. 93.

If ye do well, ye will do well to your own souls;

And if ye do evil, ye will do it unto the same. Ch. xvii. p. 96.

He who shall be rightly directed, shall be directed to the advantage only of his own soul;

And he who shall err, shall err only against the same:

Neither shall any laden soul be charged with the burden of another. Ib. p. 98.

Thy Lord hath commanded that ye worship none besides Him: and that ye shew kindness unto your parents, whether the one of them, or both of them, attain to old age with thee. Wherefore, *say not unto them, Fy on you! neither reproach them*, but speak respectfully unto them; and submit to behave humbly towards them, out of tender

BIBLE.

For God commanded, saying, Honour thy father and mother : and, *He that curseth father or mother, &c.* St. Math. xv. 4.

The heavens declare the glory of God ;
And the firmament showeth his handy-work.
There is no speech nor language,
Where their voice is not heard. Ps. xix. 1. 3.

Moses put a vail over his face, that the children of Israel could not stedfastly look:—but their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same vail untaken away, in the reading of the Old Testament.—But, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their hearts. 2 Cor. iii. 13—15.

But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? And with what body do they come? 1 Cor. xv. 35.

Go to now, ye that say, To-day, or to-morrow we

KORAN.

affection, and say, O Lord, have mercy on them both! as they nursed me when I was little. Ib. p. 99.

The seven heavens praise Him, and the earth, and all who are therein; neither is there any thing which doth not celebrate His praise; But ye understand not their celebration thereof. Ib. p. 101.

When thou readest the Koran, we place between thee, and those who believe not in the life to come, a dark veil: and we put coverings over their hearts, lest they should understand it; and in their ears, thickness of hearing.* Ib.

They disbelieve in our signs, and say, When we shall have been reduced to bones and dust, shall we surely be raised new creatures? Ib. p. 109.

Say not of any matter, I will surely do this to-mor-

* Verily we have cast veils over their hearts, lest they should understand the Koran; and into their ears, thickness of hearing." Koran, ch. xviii. p. 121.

BIBLE.

will go, &c. For that ye ought to say, If the Lord will, we shall live, and do this. St. James, iv. 13. 15.

For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away, &c. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

Isaiah, v. St. Matth. xxi. 33. St. Mark, xii. St. Luke, xx. 9.

The days of man are but as grass :

For he flourisheth as a flower of the field. Ps. ciii. 15.

In the morning it is green, and groweth up :

But in the evening it is cut down, dried up, and withered. Ps. xc. 6.

KORAN.

row ; unless thou add, if God please. Ch. xviii. p. 116.

Read that which hath been revealed unto thee, of the book of thy Lord, without presuming to make any change therein : there is none who hath power to change His words ; and thou shalt not find any to fly to, besides Him, if thou attempt it. Ib. pp. 116, 117.

And propound unto them as a parable two men ; on the one of whom we had bestowed two vineyards, and had surrounded them with palm trees, and had caused corn to grow between them. Each of the gardens brought forth its fruit every season, and failed not. Ib. pp. 117, 118.

And propound to them a similitude of the present life. It is like water which we send down from heaven ; and the herb of the earth is mixed therewith ; and after it hath been green and flourishing, in the morning it becometh dry stubble, which

BIBLE.

Like the chaff, which the
wind scattereth away
From the face of the earth.

Ps. i. 4.

And every island fled away;
And the mountains were not
found. Isaiah, liv. 10.

And they shall gather to-
gether his elect,

From the four winds;

From one end of heaven to
the other. St. Matth.
xxiv. 31.

For what if some did not
believe? Shall their un-
belief make the faith of God
without effect? Rom. iii. 3.

That at the name of Jesus
every knee should bow, of
things in heaven, and things
in earth, and things under
the earth. Philipp. ii. 10.

Till thou return unto the
ground, for out of it wast
thou taken :

For dust thou art, and unto
dust shalt thou return.
Gen. iii. 19.

Thou hast beset me behind
and before.

Such knowledge is too won-
derful for me ;

KORAN.

the winds scatter abroad. Ib.
p. 119.

On a certain day, we will
cause the mountains to pass
away : and we will gather
mankind together ; and we
will not leave any one of
them behind. And they shall
be set before thy Lord. Ib.

Those who believe not,
dispute with vain arguments,
that they may thereby ren-
der the truth of no effect.
Ib. pp. 120, 121.

The Merciful sitteth on
his throne : unto him belong-
eth whatsoever is in heaven,
or on earth, and whatsoever
is between them, and what-
soever is under the earth.
Ch. xx. p. 139.

Out of the ground have we
created you ;

And to the same will we cause
you to return. Ib. p. 143.

God knoweth that which
is before them, and that
which is behind them ; but
they comprehend not the

BIBLE.

KORAN.

It is high, I cannot attain unto
it. Ps. cxxxix. 5, 6.

same by their knowledge.
Ib. p. 149.

It is He

That stretcheth out the hea-
vens as a curtain ;

And spreadeth them out, as
a tent to dwell in. Is.
xl. 22.

Ye shall be as gods, know-
ing good and evil. Gen. iii. 5.

Who have their senses
exercised to discern both
good and evil. Heb. v. 14.

Praise the Lord from the
earth,

Mountains and all hills ;

Creeping things, and flying
fowl. Ps. cxlviii. 7, 9, 10.

When I looked for good, then
evil came unto me.

The days of affliction pre-
vented me. Job, xxx.
26, 27.

Those that wait upon the
Lord,

They shall inherit the earth.

And we made the heaven
a roof well supported. Ib.
p. 155.

We formerly gave unto
Moses and Aaron the Law,
being a distinction between
good and evil.

And we compelled the
mountains to praise us, with
David ; and the birds also.*
Ch. xxi. p. 161.

And remember Job, when
he cried unto his Lord, say-
ing, Verily evil hath afflicted
me. Ib. p. 162.

And now have we written
in the Psalms, after the pro-
mulgation of the Law, that

* “ Mohammed, it seems, taking the visions of the *Talmudists* for truth, believed that when David was fatigued with singing psalms, the mountains, birds, and other parts of the creation, both animate and inanimate, relieved him in chanting the divine praises. This consequence *the Jews* draw from the words of the Psalmist, when he calls on the several parts of nature to join with him in celebrating the praise of God : [see Ps. ciii. cxlviii.] it being their perverse custom to expound passages in the most literal manner, which cannot bear a literal sense without a manifest absurdity ; and, on the contrary, to turn the plainest passages into allegorical fancies.” Sale’s Koran, ut supr. Translator’s note *h*.

BIBLE.

The righteous shall inherit
the land. Ps. xxxvii.
9. 29. cf. 3. 11. 22. 34.

Let us hold fast the pro-
fession of our faith, without
wavering. Heb. x. 23.

Make the heart of this peo-
ple fat ;

And make their ears heavy.

Isaiah, vi. 10.

The god of this world
hath blinded the minds of
them who believe not. 2 Cor.
iv. 4.

One day is with the Lord as
a thousand years ;
And a thousand years as one
day.

The Lord is not slack con-
cerning his promise, as men
count slackness ; but is long
suffering to us-ward, not
willing that any should perish,
but that all should come to
repentance.

But the day of the Lord
will come, as a thief in the
night. 2 Pet. iii. 8—10. *

KORAN.

my servants, the righteous,
shall inherit the earth. Ib.
p. 165.

There are some men who
serve God in a wavering
manner. Ch. xxii. p. 167.

And have they not hearts to
understand with ?

Or ears to hear with ?

Surely as to these things
their eyes are not blind ;
But the hearts are blind,
which are in their breasts.
Ib. p. 173.

Verily one day with thy
Lord is as a thousand years,
of those which ye compute.
Ib. p. 174.

They will urge thee to
hasten the threatened pu-
nishment : but God will not
fail to perform what he hath
threatened.

Unto how many cities have
I granted respite, though
they were wicked ? yet af-
terwards I chastised them :
and unto me shall they come
to be judged at the last day.
Ib. pp. 173, 174. *

* Mr. Sale, who scarcely ever verifies, or even adverts to, the passages
of Scripture plagiarized from in the Koran, has marked the imitation in

BIBLE.

The Lord is the God of truth. Jer. x. 10.

Not rendering evil for evil : but contrariwise blessing. 1 Pet. iii. 9. cf. Rom. xii. 17. 20.

The hearing ear, and the seeing eye, the Lord hath made even both of them. Prov. xx. 12.

Lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart. 1 Kings, iii. 12.

And Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and found in the temple those that sold oxen, and sheep, and doves :— And said unto them that sold doves, Take these things hence : make not my Father's house, an house of merchandize. And his disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up. St. John, ii. 13—17.

And my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be. Rev. xxii. 12.

KORAN.

God is truth. Ib. p. 175.

Turn aside evil, with that which is better. Ib. p. 184.

It is God who hath created in you the senses of hearing and of sight, that ye may perceive our judgments ; and hearts, that ye may seriously consider them. Ib. p. 183.

In the houses which God hath permitted to be raised, and that his name be commemorated therein, men celebrate his praise in the same morning and evening, whom neither merchandizing, nor selling, diverteth from the remembering of God. Ch. xxiv. p. 195.

That God may recompense them according to the utmost merit of what they shall have wrought ;

this instance, by a reference to 2 Pet. iii. 8. It is, however, by the context, vv. 9, 10, that the plagiarism may be *proved*. The correspondence bears every mark of *studied* imitation.

BIBLE.

Do good, and your reward shall be great. St. Luke, vi. 35.

Good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. Ib. 38.

Jesus said unto him, Go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor; — and come and follow me. But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions. St. Matth. xix. 21, 22.

And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world; and preach the Gospel to every creature. St. Mark, xvi. 15.

The Son of man came eating and drinking; and they say, Behold a man gluttonous, and a wine-bibber. St. Matth. xi. 19. Compare St. Luke, xiii. 26.

For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then, we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up

KORAN.

And may add unto them, of His abundance, a more excellent reward:

For God bestoweth on whom he pleaseth, without measure. Ib.

They swear by God, with a most solemn oath, that, if thou [Mahomet] commandest them, they will go forth from their houses and possessions. Say, Swear not to a falsehood: obedience is more requisite. Ib. p. 197.

Blessed be he who hath revealed the Forkan unto his servant, that he may be a preacher unto all creatures. Ch. xxv. ad init.

And they say, What kind of Apostle is this? He eateth food, and walketh in the streets, as we do. Ch. xxv. p. 201.

On that day, the heaven shall be cloven in sunder by the clouds; and the Angels shall be sent down,

BIBLE.

KORAN.

together with them, in the clouds. 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.

Doth a fountain send forth at the same place, sweet water and bitter? St. James, iii. 11.

I am He that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore. Rev. i. 18.

Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out. Acts, iii. 19.

Turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, the sea, and all things that are therein:

He gave us rain from Heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness. Acts, xiv. 15. 17.

Verily, verily, the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God. St. John, v. 25.

He maketh both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak. St. Mark, vii. 37.

descending visibly therein. Ib. p. 203.

It is He who hath let loose the two seas;
This fresh and sweet, and that salt and bitter. Ib. p. 207.

And do thou trust in Him, who liveth, and dieth not. Ib.

And whoever repenteth, and doth that which is right, verily he turneth unto God with an acceptable conversion. Ib. p. 208.

Is God more worthy, or the false gods which they associate with him? Is not He to be preferred, who hath created the heavens, and the earth; and sendeth down rain for you from heaven, whereby we cause delicious groves to spring up? Ch. xxvii. p. 228.

Verily thou shalt not make the dead to hear;
Neither shalt thou make the deaf to hear thy call;

BIBLE.

A light of the Gentiles, to open the blind eyes. Is. xlii. 6, 7.

Who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. 1 Pet. ii. 9.

Call ye on the name of your gods, and I will call on the name of the Lord. And they cried aloud. And it came to pass, that there was neither voice, nor any to answer. 1 Kings, xviii. 24. 29.

The same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it: but, when tribulation, or persecution, ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended. St. Matth. xiii. 20, 21.

He that, by usury and unjust gain, increaseth his substance;

He shall gather it for him that will pity the poor. Prov. xxviii. 8.

And every one that hath

KORAN.

Neither shalt thou direct the blind to extricate themselves out of their error.* Ib. p. 230.

And it shall be said unto the idolaters, Call now upon those whom ye associated with God: and they shall call upon them, but they shall not answer. Ch. xxviii. p. 241.

There are some men who say, We believe in God; but when such an one is afflicted for God's sake, he esteemeth the persecution of men to be as grievous, as the punishment of God. Ch. xxix. p. 246.

Whatever ye shall give in usury, to be an increase of men's substance,

Shall not be increased by the blessing of God:

But for whatever ye shall give in alms, for God's sake,

* How ample the confession in these words, of the inferiority of the Koran to the Gospel; of Mahomet to Christ! The spurious messiah here disclaims all exercise of those powers, which were to be at once the sign, and triumph, of the true Messiah. "Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant!"

BIBLE.

forsaken houses, and lands, for my name-sake, shall receive an hundred-fold.* St. Matth. xix. 29.

Out of weakness were made strong. Heb. xi. 34.

He weakened my strength in the way. Ps. cii. 23.

He weakeneth the strength of the mighty. Job, xii. 21.

If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence unto yonder place ; and it shall remove. St. Matth. xvii. 20.

In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is ; and rested the seventh day. Exod. xx. 11.

And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good. Gen. i. 31.

The disciples came unto him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be ? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of

KORAN.

Ye shall receive a twofold reward. * Ch. xxx. p. 258.

It is God who created you in weakness ;

And after weakness hath given you strength ;

And after strength, he will again reduce you to weakness. Ib.

Verily every matter, whether good or bad, though it be of the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, and be hidden in a rock, God will bring the same to light. Ch. xxxi. pp. 263, 264.

It is God who hath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them in six days ; and then ascended his throne.

It is he who hath made every thing which he created, exceeding good. Ch. xxxii. p. 266, 267.

Men will ask thee concerning the approach of the last hour :

* The " good measure " of the Gospel stands suitably contrasted with the niggardly pittance of the Koran ; the " hundred-fold," with the " two-fold," reward.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

the end of the world? Jesus answered and said unto them, Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only. St. Matth. xxiv. 3, 4. 36.

Praise the Lord from the earth,
Mountains, and all hills:
Creeping things, and flying
fowl. Ps. cxlviii. 7. 9, 10.

If I do this thing willingly, I have a reward: — What is my reward then? Verily, that, when I preach the Gospel, I may make the gospel of Christ without charge. 1 Cor. ix. 17.

Thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God. Acts, x. 4.

Bear ye one another's burdens. But let every man prove his own work; and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another. For every man

answer;
Verily, the knowledge thereof is with God alone. Ch. xxxiii. p. 284.

We heretofore bestowed on David, excellence from us:

And we said, O mountains sing alternate praises with him;
And we obliged the birds also to join therein*: Ch. xxxiv. p. 287.

I ask not any reward for my preaching; it is your own, either to give or not: my reward is to be expected from God alone. Ib. p. 294.

Unto Him ascendeth the good speech;
And the righteous work will he exalt. Ch. xxxv. p. 296.

A burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another: and if a heavy burdened soul call on another to bear part of its burden, no part thereof shall be borne by the person

* See ch. xxi. p. 161. Translator's note *h*.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

shall bear his own burden.
Gal. vi. 2. 4, 5.

Sell that ye have, and give alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not. St. Luke, xii. 33.

And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying. Rev. xxi. 4.

For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder — is God. Heb. xi. 10.

They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; Neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. Rev. vii. 16.

Then pleased it the Apostles — to send to Antioch —

Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas. Acts, xv. 22.

But when Peter was come to Antioch. Gal. ii. 11.

The earth, which drinketh

who shall be called on. Ch. xxxv. p. 297.

Verily, they who give alms out of what we have bestowed on them, both in secret and openly, hope for a merchandize which shall not perish. Ib. p. 298.

And they [the blessed] shall say,
Praise be unto God, who hath taken away sorrow from us:

Who hath caused us to take up our rest, in a dwelling of eternal stability,

Wherein no labour shall touch us; neither shall any weariness affect us. Ib. p. 299.

Propound unto them as an example the inhabitants of the city of Antioch, when the Apostles of Jesus came thereto: when we sent unto them two of the said Apostles; but they charged them with imposture. Wherefore we strengthened them with a third. Ch. xxxvi. pp. 301, 302.

One sign of the resurrec-

BIBLE.

in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God. Heb. vi. 7.

And when he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered: [the son of man shall send his angels, with a great sound of a trumpet. St. Matt. xxiv. 31.] In that day, he which shall be on the house-top, and his stuff in the house, let him not come down to take it away: and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back. St. Luke, xvii. 20. 31.

All that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth. St. John, v. 28, 29.

And He said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones, Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live. Ezek. xxxvii. 3. 5.

The Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him,

KORAN.

tion unto them is the dead earth: we quicken the same by the rain; and produce thereout various sorts of grain, of which they eat. Ch. xxxvi. pp. 303, 304.

And they say, When will this promise of the resurrection be fulfilled, if ye speak truth? They only wait for one sounding of the trumpet, which shall overtake them while they are disputing together; and they shall not have time to make any disposition of their effects, neither shall they return to their family.

And the trumpet shall be sounded again; and behold, they shall come forth from their graves, and hasten unto their Lord. Ib. p. 305.

He saith, Who shall restore bones to life, when they are rotten? Answer, He shall restore them to life, who produced them the first time. Ib. 307.

Abraham also was of his [Noah's] religion: when he

BIBLE.

Walk before me, and be thou perfect. Gen. xvii. 1.

Whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord. St. James, vi. 8.

What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? St. Matth. xvi. 26.

My grace is sufficient for thee. 1 Cor. xii. 9.

Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand?

And comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure?

And the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll. Isaiah, xl. 12. xxxiv. 4.

The Lord shall be thine everlasting light. Ib. lx. 20.

If thy brother repent, forgive him. St. Luke, xvii. 3.

The judgment is God's. Deut. i. 17.

KORAN.

came unto his Lord with a perfect heart. *

They who do good in this world, shall obtain good in the next. Ch. xxxix. p. 326.

Verily they will be the losers, who shall lose their own souls. Ib. p. 327.

God is my sufficient support. Ib. p. 330.

But they make not a due estimation of God : since the whole earth shall be but his handful, on the day of resurrection, and the heavens shall be rolled together in His right hand. Ib. p. 332.

And the earth shall shine, by the light of its Lord. Ib. p. 333.

God : the Forgiver of sin, and the acceptor of repentance. Ch. xl. p. 334.

Judgment belongeth unto the high, the great God. Ib. p. 336.

* "Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations; and Noah walked with God." Gen. vi. 9. The reference is most accurate. the scriptural testimony to Abraham is the same with that to Noah.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

Men loved darkness, rather than light. St. John, iii. 19.

If thine enemy hunger, feed him ;
If he thirst, give him drink :
For, in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.

Be not overcome of evil ;
But overcome evil with good.
Rom. xii. 20, 21.

He that keepeth the commandments, keepeth his own soul :
But he that despiseth his ways shall die. Prov. xix. cf. x. 36.

There are not found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger. St. Luke, xvii. 18.

Then they cried unto the Lord, in their trouble.
Ps. cvii. 6. 13. 19, &c.

They loved blindness, better than the true direction. Ch. xli. p. 315.

Turn away evil with that which is better ; and behold, the man between whom and thyself there was enmity, shall become, as it were, thy warmest friend. Ib. p. 347.

He who doth right, doth it to the advantage of his own soul ;
And he who doth evil, doth it against the same. Ib. p. 348.

When we confer favours on man, he turneth aside, and departeth without returning thanks. *

But when evil toucheth him, he is frequent at prayer. Ib. p. 349.

* “ And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God ; and fell down on his face at his feet, giving him thanks.” St. Luke, ut supr. 15, 16.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

He that soweth to his flesh,

Shall of the flesh reap corruption :

But he that soweth to the spirit,

Shall of the spirit reap life everlasting.* Gal. vi. 8.

They that go down to the sea in ships.

They mount up to the heaven.

Then they cry unto the Lord.

He maketh the storm a calm.

So he bringeth them unto their desired haven. Ps. cvii. 23—30.

For now we see through a glass darkly ;

But then face to face :

Now I know in part ;

But then shall I know,

Even as also I am known.

1 Cor. xiii. 12. cf. 2 Cor. iii. 7, &c.

Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me. 2 Tim. i. 13.

And all the people rejoiced, for all the glorious

Whoso chooseth the tillage of the life to come,

Unto him will we give increase in his tillage :

And whoso chooseth the tillage of this world,

We will give him the fruit thereof.* Ch. xlii. p. 352.

The ships running in the sea, like high mountains :

If He pleaseth, he causeth the wind to cease ;

And they lie still on the back of the water. Ib. pp. 353, 354.

It is not fit for man, that God should speak unto him otherwise than by private revelation ; or from behind a veil ; or by his sending a messenger to reveal, by his permission, that which he pleaseth. Ib. p. 355.

Hold fast the doctrine, which hath been revealed unto thee. Ch. xliii. p. 359.

And when the son of Mary was proposed for an example ;

* Each of these passages is a fine specimen of the alternate parallelism. (See Sacred Literature, p. 29.) It is remarkable that the great moral truth which they alike inculcate, should, by Saint Paul, and by Mahomet, have been cast in the same mould.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

things that were done by him. St. Luke, xiii. 17.

The God of heaven and earth. Ezra, v. 11.

But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou, in thy lifetime, receivedst thy good things :—but now—thou art tormented. St. Luke, xvi. 25.

In every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him. Acts, x. 35.

The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the light. St. John, i. 7.

I am Gabriel, and am sent to show thee these glad tidings. St. Luke, i. 17.

O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Ib. iii. 7.

behold thy people cried out through excess of joy thereat.* Ch. xliii. p. 360.

He who is God in heaven, is God on earth also. Ib. p. 362.

It shall be said unto them, [the unbelievers] Ye received your good things in your lifetime : wherefore this day, ye shall be rewarded with punishment. Ch. xlvi. p. 373.

Those who believe and work righteousness,
And believe in the revelation sent down unto Mohammed,

He [God] will expiate their evil deeds from them,
And will dispose their heart aright. Ch. xlvii. ad init.

Verily we have sent thee to be a witness,

and a bearer of good tidings,

and a denouncer of threats.† Ib. p. 382.

* Throughout the Koran, the mention of our Lord's name is almost uniformly accompanied by a denial of his divine nature. The impostor acts like the rebel against his earthly king ; who owns the justness of his title, by his very labour to do it away.

† These characters belonged to John the Baptist : whom the eastern antichrist would thus appropriate to himself, as *his* forerunner.

BIBLE.

And he said, So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and should sleep and rise, night and day; and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how. For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.

St. Mark, iv. 26—28.

I *hate* vain thoughts;
But thy law do I love. Ps.
cxix. 113.

Abhor that which is evil;
Cleave to that which is good.
Rom. xii. 9.

Why beholdest thou the mote
that is in thy brother's eye?
St. Matth. vii. 3.

Whoso privily slandereth his
neighbour,

Him will I cut off. Ps. ci. 5.

KORAN.

This is their description in the Pentateuch *, and their description in the Gospel: they are as seed, which putteth forth its stalk, and strengtheneth it, and swelleth in the ear, and riseth upon its stem; giving delight unto the sower. Such are the Moslems described to be. Ch. xlviii. p. 387.

God hath made the faith
amiable unto you, and
hath prepared the same
in your hearts;

And hath rendered infidelity,
and iniquity, and dis-
obedience, *hateful* unto
you. Ch. xlix. p. 388.

Inquire not too curiously
into other men's failings;

Neither let the one of you
speak ill of another, in
his absence:

Would any of you desire to
eat the flesh of his dead
brother? † Ib. 389.

* No such description occurs in the Pentateuch: the allusion to the Gospel is sufficiently borne out. Inferior as it is in beauty, and in moral depth, to the divine original, the imitation is still a fine one.

† The "*Absentem qui rodit amicum*" of Horace will occur to the classical reader. The Roman, and the Arabian moralist, seldom come thus nearly together. The identifying of the *absent* with the *dead* is a noble conception. So *our* great moral poet:—

Absent or dead, still let a friend be dear.

BIBLE.

Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness, without works. Rom. iv. 6.

That his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God. St. John, iii. 21.

Rejoice, and be exceeding glad;

For great is your reward in heaven. St. Matth. v. 12.

For every one that exalteth himself, shall be abased;
And he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted.
St. Luke, xviii. 14.

But some men will say,
How are the dead raised up?
And with what body do they come? Thou fool, that which thou sowest, is not quickened, except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain. But God giveth it a body, as it hath pleased him. 1 Cor. xv. 35—38.

Let the heaven and earth praise him;

KORAN.

A burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another; and nothing shall be imputed to a man for righteousness, except his own labour; and his labour shall surely be made manifest hereafter; and he shall be rewarded for the same with the most abundant reward. Ch. liii. pp. 403, 404.

The inevitable day of judgment — will abase some, and exalt others. Ch. lvi. p. 413.

Ye know the original production, by creation;
Will ye not therefore consider, that we are able to reproduce you by resurrection.

What think ye?

The grain which ye sow, do ye cause the same to spring forth? Or do we cause it to spring forth?
Ib. p. 416.

Whatever is in heaven and earth singeth praise unto God;

BIBLE.

KORAN.

The seas, and every thing
that moveth therein.

Ps. lxxix. 34.

The most high God, pos-
sessor of heaven and earth.

Gen. xiv. 19.

The Lord killeth, and maketh
alive :

He bringeth down to the
grave, and bringeth up.

1 Sam. ii. 6.

I am the First, and I am
the last. Isaiah, xlv. 6. cf.

Rev. xxii. 13.

God was manifest in the
flesh. 2 Tim. iii. 16.

He that hath pity upon the
poor,

Lendeth unto the Lord ;

And that which he hath given,
He will pay him again. Prov.
xix. 17.

Then all those virgins arose,
and trimmed their lamps.
And the foolish said unto the
wise, Give us of your oil ; for
our lamps are gone out. But
the wise answered, saying,
Go ye rather to them that

And He is mighty and
wise* :

His is the kingdom of heaven
and earth ;

He giveth life, and he put-
teth to death ;

And he is Almighty † :

He is the first and the last,

The manifest and the hidden ;
And he knoweth all things. ‡
Ch. lvii. ad init.

Who is he that will lend unto
God an acceptable loan ?

For He will double the same
unto him ;

And he shall receive more-
over an honourable re-
ward. Ib. p. 419.

On that day the hypocrit-
ical men, and the hypocrit-
ical women, shall say unto
those who believe : Stay for
us, that we may borrow some
of your light. It shall be
answered : Return back into

* “ God is wise in heart, and mighty in strength.” Job, ix. 4. cf. xii. 13—16. xxxvi. 5. and compare with Koran *passim*.

† “ I am the Almighty God.” Gen. xvii. 1.

‡ “ Lord, thou knowest all things.” St. John, xxi. 17.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

sell, and buy for yourselves.
St. Matth. xxv. 9.

God resisteth the proud,
But giveth grace unto the
humble. St. James, iv. 6.

Whosoever shall break one
of these commandments,
And shall teach men so.
St. Matth. v. 19. cf.
1 Cor. vi. 10.

If two of you shall agree
on earth, as touching any
thing that they shall ask, it
shall be done for them of my
Father which is in heaven.
For where two or three are
gathered together in my
name, there am I in the
midst of them.† St. Matth.
xviii. 19, 20.

He that loveth father or
mother more than me, is not
worthy of me; and he that
loveth son or daughter more
than me is not worthy of me.
St. Matth. x. 37.

If any man come to me,
and hate not his father, and

the world, and seek light.*
Ch. lvii. p. 419.

God loveth no proud or vain-
glorious person;

Or those who are covetous,
and command men co-
vetousness. Ib. p. 421.

God: There is no private
discourse among three per-
sons, but he is the fourth of
them; nor among five, but
he is the sixth of them; nei-
ther among a smaller number
than this nor a larger, but he
is with them, wheresoever
they be.† Ch. lviii. p. 424.

Thou shalt not find people
who believe in God and the
last day, to love him who
opposeth God and his Apost-
le; although they be their
fathers, or their sons, or their
brethren, or their nearest re-
lations. Ib. ad fin.

* The peculiarity of this illustration seems to place beyond doubt, its reference to our Lord's parable of the ten virgins. How this beautiful parable has suffered in the imitation needs not be pointed out. Indeed, without the Gospel original, the imitation would be unintelligible.

† It is worthy of remark, that most of the prerogatives which Mahomet introduces as attributes of the Deity, are to be found in Scripture, attributed to Christ, whose Godhead might thus be deduced from the Koran.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, he cannot be my disciple. St. Luke, xiv. 26.

Do not ye after their works, for they say, and do not. St. Matth. xxiii. 3.

And it came to pass afterward, that he went throughout every city and village, preaching, and showing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God. St. Luke, viii. 1.

But I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter. St. John, xiv. 16.

But the comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, — the Father will send, in my name.* Ib. 26.

The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee, a Prophet from the midst of thee of thy brethren, like unto me. Deut. xviii. 15.

It is most odious in the sight of God, that ye say that which ye do not. Ch. lxi. ad init.

And when Jesus, the son of Mary, said, O children of Israel, verily I am the apostle of God sent unto you, confirming the law which was delivered before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, and whose name shall be Ahmed.* Ib. p. 435, 436.

It is He who hath raised up, amidst the illiterate Arabians, an apostle from among themselves, to re-

* For the impious and monstrous perversion of Scripture here exhibited, Mahomet had still a precedent in Church history : Montanus, the preceptor and perverter of Tertullian, in like manner, gave himself out as the Comforter, or Paraclete, promised by Christ. “ The Persian paraphrast, to support what is here alleged, quotes the following words of Christ : ‘ I go to my Father, and the Paraclete shall come : ’ [see St. John, xvi. 7.] The Mohammedan doctors unanimously teaching, that by the Paraclete (or as they chuse to read it, the Periclyte, or Illustrious,) their prophet is intended, and no other.” Sale, vol. ii. p. 436. note b.

BIBLE.

And he shall purify the sons of Levi,—that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness. Conf. Tit. ii. 13, 14. *

And a man's foes shall be they of his own household. St. Matth. x. 36.

Many are the afflictions of the righteous :
But the Lord delivereth him out of them all. Ps. xxxiv. 19.

Unto you therefore which believe he [Christ] is precious : That ye should show forth the praises of Him, who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. † 1 Pet. ii. 9.

And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo there was a great earthquake :—and every mountain and island were moved

KORAN.

hearse his signs unto them, and to purify them, and to teach them the Scriptures and wisdom. * Ch. lxii. ad init.

O true believers, verily of your wives and your children you have an enemy. Ch. lxiv. p. 442.

Whoso feareth God :

Unto him will he grant a happy issue out of all his afflictions. Ch. lxv. ad init.

Now hath God sent down unto you an Apostle, that he may bring forth those who believe, and do good works, from darkness into light. †
Ib. ad fin.

And when one blast shall sound the trumpet,
And the earth shall be moved from its place, and the mountains also,

* In this one plagiarism, the eastern Antichrist applies to himself *two* of the most illustrious predictions of the Old Testament, concerning the advent of the Messiah: the one delivered by Moses, the first, the other, by Malachi, the last, of the Jewish prophets !

† The impostor returns again and again to this plagiarism, and assumption of the office of the Christ, which occur first, Ch. ii. p. 48.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

out of their places. Rev. vi.
12. 14.

And the heaven departed
as a scroll, when it is rolled
together. Ib. 14.

For we shall all stand be-
fore the judgment-seat of
Christ. Rom. xiv. 10.

Riches profit not, in the day
of wrath. Prov. xi. 4.

He seeth that their power is
gone. Deut. xxxii. 36.

Then shall he say unto
them on his left hand, De-
part from me ye cursed, into
everlasting fire. St. Matth.
xxv. 41.

And lo, a voice from heaven,
saying,

This is my beloved Son, in
whom I am well pleased.
St. Matth. iii. 17.

And shall be dashed in pieces
at one stroke :

On that day, the inevitable
hour of judgment shall
suddenly come ;

And the heavens shall cleave
in sunder, and shall fall
in pieces, on that day.

On that day ye shall be pre-
sented before the judg-
ment-seat of God. Ch.
Ixxix. pp. 456, 457.

But he who shall have his
book delivered, in his left
hand, shall say,

O that death had made an
end of me.

My riches have not profited
me ;

And my power is passed from
me.

And God shall say to the
keepers of hell, Take him,
and bind him, and cast him
into hell to be burned.* Ib.
p. 457.

He doth not communicate
his secrets unto any,

Except an Apostle in whom
he is well pleased. Ch.
Ixxii. ad fin.

* The loathsome details interlarded, in the context of the Koran, with these imitations of Scripture, present the spurious counterfeit in all its native deformity.

BIBLE.

How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation? Heb. ii. 3. conf. xii. 25.

Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment:

Likewise also the good works of some are manifest beforehand. 1 Tim. v. 24.

And if ye lend to them, of whom ye hope to receive,

What thank have ye?

And lend, hoping for nothing again. St. Luke, vi. 34, 35.

Tell us when shall these things be? and the end of the world? And Jesus answered, The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven. St. Matth. xxv. 3. 29, 30.

KORAN.

How, therefore, will ye escape, if ye believe not, the day which shall make children become grey-headed through terror? Ch. lxxiii. p. 467.

Whatever good ye send before for your souls, Ye shall find the same with God. Ch. lxxiv. ad fin.

And be not liberal, in hopes to receive more in return. Ib. ad init.

He asketh,

When will the day of resurrection be?

But, when the sight shall be dazzled,

And the moon shall be eclipsed,

And the sun and the moon shall be in conjunction;

On that day, man shall say, Where is a place of refuge? * Ch. lxxv. p. 472.

* "Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us!" St. Luke, xxiii. 30. cf. Rev. vi. 16.

BIBLE.

Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink, in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward. St. Mark, ix. 41. cf. St. Matth. x. 42.

And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely. Rev. xxii. 17.

The day of the Lord cometh, — it is nigh at hand. Joel, ii. 1.

Men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth. St. Luke, xxi. 26.

And they asked him, saying, Master, but when shall these things be? Ib. xxi. 7.

But of that day and hour

KORAN.

The just — fulfil their vow, and dread the day, the evil whereof will disperse itself far abroad; and give food unto the poor, and the orphan, and the bondman, for his sake, saying, We feed you for God's sake only: we desire no recompense from you, nor any thanks. Ch. lxxvi. p. 474.

Whoso, therefore, willeth, let him return unto his Lord. Verily we threaten you with a punishment nigh at hand: the day whereon a man shall behold the good or evil deeds which his hands have sent before him. Ch. lxxviii. p. 479.

On a certain day, the disturbing blast of the trumpet shall disturb the universe; and the subsequent blast shall follow it. On that day, men's hearts shall tremble: their looks shall be cast down. Verily it will be but one sounding of the trumpet, and behold, they shall appear alive on the face of the earth. Ch. lxxix. p. 480.

They will ask thee concerning the last hour, When will be the fixed time thereof?

BIBLE.

knoweth no man; no, not the angels of heaven; but my Father only. St. Matth. xxiv. 36

The sun shall be darkened, — and the stars shall fall from heaven. Ib. 29.

And as it were a great mountain was cast into the sea :

And the third part of the sea became blood. Rev. viii. 8. cf. vi. 14.

And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God :

And the books were opened. Ib. xx. 12.

The first heaven and the first earth were passed away. Ib. xxi. 1.

And they were judged every man according to their works. Ib. xx. 13.

He saw the heavens opened (marg. read. *cloven* or *rent*). * St. Mark, i. 10.

And the third part of the stars — was smitten. Rev. viii. 12.

And there fell a great star

KORAN.

By what means canst thou give any information of the same ?

Unto thy Lord belongeth the knowledge thereof. Ch. lxxix. p. 481.

When the sun shall be folded up ; and when the stars shall fall ;

And when the mountains shall be made to pass away ;

And when the seas shall boil ;

And when the souls shall be joined again to their bodies ;

And when the books shall be laid open ;

And when the heaven shall be removed ; —

Every soul shall know what it hath wrought. Ch. lxxxi. ad init.

When the heaven shall be cloven in sunder ;

And when the stars shall be scattered ;

And when the seas shall be

BIBLE.

KORAN.

from heaven upon the rivers,
and upon the fountains of
waters. Rev. viii. 10.

And death and hell (*marg.
the grave*) delivered up the
dead which were in them.
Ib. xx. 13.

These ought ye to have
done, and not to leave the
other undone. St. Matth.
xxiii. 23.

In thy presence is fulness of
joy :

At thy right hand, there are
pleasures for evermore.
Ps. xvi. 11.

suffered to join their
waters ;

And when the graves shall
be turned upside down :

Every soul shall know,
What it hath committed ;
And what it hath omitted.*
Ch. lxxxii. ad init.

Those who approach near
unto God, are witnesses
thereto.

Thou shalt see in their faces
the brightness of joy.
Ch. lxxxiii. p. 487.

When the heaven shalt be
rent in sunder ;
And shall obey its Lord,
and shall be capable
thereof :

And when the earth shall be
stretched out ;

And shall cast forth that
which is therein, and
shall remain empty ;

And shall obey its Lord,
and shall be capable
thereof :

Then we which are alive O man, verily labouring, thou

* Like our venerable Church Liturgy, the Koran here preserves the important scriptural classification of sins.

BIBLE.

and remain, shall — meet the
Lord in the air. 1 Thess. iv. 17.

Prepare to meet thy God, O
Israel! Amos, iv. 12.

God made the world,
and all things therein ;
And hath made, of one blood
all nations of men ;

And hath determined the
times before appointed ;
And the bounds of their ha-
bitation. † Acts, xvii.
24. 26.

These both were cast alive
into a lake of fire, burning
with brimstone. Rev. xix.
20.

KORAN.

labourest to meet thy
Lord ;

And thou shalt meet him.
Ch. lxxxiv. ad init. *

Praise the name of thy Lord,
the most High :
Who hath created, and com-
pletely formed his crea-
tures ;

And who determineth them
to various ends ;
And directeth them to at-
tain the same. † Ch.
lxxxvii. ad init.

Who shall be cast to be
broiled in the greater
fire of hell ;

Wherein he shall not die,
neither shall he live. ‡
Ib. p. 192.

* It has been thought right to exemplify very fully the coincidences of the Koran with the Bible, on the subjects of the Last Day ; the resurrection ; and the general judgment. The spurious like the genuine revelation, closes, it will be observed, with continual references to these awful topics : upon each of which Mahomet treats in the very language of Scripture, especially of the Apocalypse, which *seems* to have been plagiarized from, with studied and most minute attention.

† In the doctrine of a *Providence*, laid down in these contexts, there is a sensible resemblance, on the part of the Koran, to the teaching of Saint Paul, at Athens. On this vital article of belief, the creed of Mahometanism appears never to have degenerated : too many in the Christian world might well be put to shame, by the devout practical sense which Mahometans generally entertain, of the control and direction exercised by Almighty God, over and throughout his own world.

‡ By the former line of this couplet, disgust is awakened rather than terror : the conception in the second is awfully striking.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

The just shall live by his
faith. Hab. ii. 4. cf.
Rom. i. 17. Gal. iii. 11.
Heb. x. 38.

I have remembered thyname,
O Lord, in the night.* Ps.
cxix. 55.

Men of the world — have
their portion in this life.
Ps. xvii. 14.

Ye have in heaven a better,
and an enduring sub-
stance. Heb. x. 34.

For if we sin wilfully, after
that we have received the
knowledge of the truth — of
how much sorer punishment,
&c. Heb. x. 26—29. cf.
2 Pet. ii. 20, 21.

Now hath he attained felicity,
who is purified by faith;

And who remembereth the
name of his Lord, and
prayeth.*

But ye prefer this present
life :

Yet the life to come is bet-
ter, and more durable.†

Verily this is written in the
ancient books ;

The books of ABRAHAM and
MOSES. ‡ Ch. lxxxvii.
ad fin. p. 493.

But whoever shall turn back,
and disbelieve,

God shall punish him with
the greater punishment
of the life to come. Ch.
lxxxviii. p. 494.

* This coincidence bears every appearance of studied imitation : the *night* being the great Mahometan as well as the favourite Jewish season of *prayer* : So Ali . “ *The night-watch* is the spring-time of the friends of God ;” manifestly after another Psalm : —

“ I remember thee upon my bed ;

And meditate on thee in *the night-watches*.” Ps. lxiii. 6.

† “ Riches and honour are with me,

Durable riches and righteousness.” Prov. viii. 8.

‡ According to Mahometan tradition, new written laws, or dispensations, were successively imparted to mankind, by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet. To lower the authority of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, was the palpable object of this figment : thus we find the Koran confounding the books of *Moses*, with those of *Abraham* !

BIBLE.

Behold, happy is the man
whom God correcteth :
Therefore despise not thou
the chastening of the
Almighty. Job, v. 17.

My son, despise not thou the
chastening of the Lord ;
Nor faint when thou art re-
buked of him :

For whom the Lord loveth
he chasteneth. Heb. xii.
5, 6. cf. Prov. iii. 11, 12.

In thee have they set light
by father and mother ;

In the midst of thee have
they dealt by oppression
with the stranger ;

In thee have they vexed the
fatherless and the wi-
dow. Ezek. xxii. 7. cf.
Mal. iii. 5.

Set your affection on things
above ;

Not on things on the earth.
Col. iii. 2.

His Lord said unto him,
Well done thou good and
faithful servant ; thou hast
been faithful over a few
things, I will make thee ruler
over many things : enter thou
into the joy of thy Lord.
St. Matth. xxv. 21.

Enter ye in at the strait

KORAN.

Moreover man, *when his
Lord trieth him by prosperity,*
and honoureth him, and is
bounteous unto him, saith,
My Lord honoureth me :
*but when he proveth him by
afflictions,* and withholdeth
his provisions from him, he
saith, My Lord despiseth
me. *By no means.*

But ye honour not the or-
phan ;

Neither do ye excite one
another to feed the poor ;

And ye devour the inheri-
tance of the weak, with
undistinguishing greed-
iness ;

And ye love riches, with
much affection.

By no means should ye do
thus. Ch. lxxxix. p. 496.

O thou soul ! which art at
rest, return unto thy
Lord ;

Well pleased with thy re-
ward, and well pleasing
unto God :

Enter among my servants :
and enter my paradise.

Ib. ad fin.

Have we not — shown him

BIBLE.

gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction: — strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life; and few there be that find it. St. Matth. vii. 13, 14. cf. 24—27.

I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: — I was a stranger, and ye took me in: — I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Ib. xxv. 35, 36.

Let us hold fast the profession of our faith, without wavering. And let us consider one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works: — exhorting one another. Heb. x. 23, 24. cf. Eph. vi. 18. I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness. Isaiah, xli. 10. cf. Col. iii. 1.

Lo, this only have I found:

That God hath made man upright:

But they have sought out many inventions.* Eccl. vii. 29.

KORAN.

the two highways, of good and evil? Yet he attempteth not the cliff. What shall make thee to understand what the cliff is?

It is, to free the captive; or to feed, in the day of famine, the orphan who is of kin; or the poor man, who lieth on the ground.

Whoso doeth this; and is one of those who believe, and recommend perseverance unto each other, and recommend mercy unto each other; these shall be the companions of the right hand. Ch. xc.

Verily, we created man of a most excellent fabric: Afterwards we rendered him the vilest of the vile.* Ch. xcvi.

* The connection of the sentiment in these contexts seems strongly indicative of *direct* plagiarism by Mahomet, from the passage of Ecclesiastes.

BIBLE.

The hour is coming,
In the which all that are in
the graves shall come
forth. St. John, v. 28,
29.

Until the Lord come, who
both will bring to light the
hidden things of darkness;
and will make manifest the
counsels of the hearts. 1 Cor.
iv. 5.

Whoso privily slandereth his
neighbour, him will I
cut off. Ps. ci. 5.

Go to now, ye rich men, weep
and howl for your mi-
series that shall come
upon you.

Ye have heaped treasure to-
gether for the last days.
St. James, v. 13. cf.
Rom. ii. 5.

Wo unto you, Scribes
and Pharisees, hypocrites,
for ye devour widows' houses,
and, for a pretence, make
long prayer. St. Matth. xxiii.
14.

KORAN.

Doth he not know, therefore,
When that which is in the
graves shall be taken
forth;

And that which is in men's
breasts shall be brought
to light;

That their Lord will, on that
day, be fully informed
concerning them? Ch. c.

Wo unto every slanderer,
and backbiter:

Who heapeth up riches; and
prepareth the same for
the time to come.

He thinketh that his riches
will render him im-
mortal.

What thinkest thou of him,
who denieth the future
judgment as a falsehood?

It is he, who pusheth away
the orphan;

And stirreth not up others
to feed the poor.

Wo be to those who pray,
and who are negligent
at their prayer:

Who play the hypocrites;
and deny necessities to
the needy. Ch. cvii.

BIBLE.

KORAN.

Lest Satan should get an advantage of us; for we are not ignorant of his devices. 2 Cor. ii. 11.

If God peradventure will give them repentance:—and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil. 2 Tim. ii. 25, 26. cf. Rev. xx. 7—10.

Say, I fly for refuge, unto the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men;

That He may deliver me from the mischief of the whisperer who silyly withdraweth; who whispereth evil suggestions into the breasts of men. Ch. cxiv.

In the foregoing tables of parallel passages, it has been by no means our object, to exhaust the analogy between the pseudo-bible of Mahometanism, and the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. By this copious selection of coincidences, more or less striking, it has rather been designed to prepare the materials for a more correct and definite estimate than seems yet to have been formed, of the actual debt of the Koran to the sacred volumes of the Old and New Testament. For hence, on an attentive review of the examples, it will appear manifest, that the plagiarisms of the Koran are not limited to the leading facts and narratives of the Bible; but extend to many of its minuter peculiarities: to its modes of thought, its figures of speech, and even to its very moulds of expression.¹

The palpable obligations of this spurious re-

velation to Holy Writ, and the real or supposed incompetence of its nominal fabricator, have very naturally given birth to inquiries into the history of its composition. Preceding writers on Mahometanism seem pretty generally to have adopted the notion entertained by the eastern Christians, that, in the construction of his Koran, Mahomet was assisted by a renegade Jew, and an apostate monk. But the assertions advanced on this head have never been authenticated by proofs ; and the whole story wears but too much the air of an hypothesis adapted to the difficulties of the case. At the same time, even were the popular belief in question ascertained to be fact, this might indeed materially diminish, but still would not do away, the difficulties presented by the phenomena of the Koran. For, altogether independently of its plagiarisms from our Scriptures, this pretended revelation assuredly contains passages, as much superior to any remains, whether Jewish or Christian, of the literature of the seventh century, as they are utterly inferior to its imitations of that sacred volume, which the Koran blasphemously assumes to resemble and supplant. Upon the origin of the Koran, therefore, and the true history of its composition, the present writer, instructed by the failure of others, does not purpose to hazard any solution

of his own. That Mahomet was really its chief author and contriver, (an inference suggested by the whole internal evidence,) we must indeed, with Mr. Sale, consider a matter beyond dispute. But how far Mahomet was, or was not, acquainted with our sacred volume, must probably remain an unsolved problem to the end of time.

When, however, we contemplate the phenomena in their application to the present argument, and to the case of Mahometanism regarded in its providential aspect, the question *how* the Koran came by its spurious likeness to the Scriptures of both Testaments, becomes comparatively of little moment. That it *does* contain large and various materials, drawn from these sacred volumes, including obligations to every part of them from the book of Genesis to that of Revelation, is undeniable : and this one undoubted fact may well suffice for our object ; since it implies the establishment of a matter-of-fact relation between the false revelation and the true, in the character of their respective written laws, perfectly harmonizing with the kind, and the degree of correspondence, which the arch-heresy of Mahomet maintains with Judaism and Christianity, in so many particulars beside.

In our analysis of its spurious resemblance to the books of the Law and Gospel, and the

consequent exposure of those plagiarisms and imitations, which constitute the sum of that resemblance, the Koran has been hitherto necessarily regarded on the favourable side. For, however disguised and desecrated, by the perversions of ignorance, or by the arts of imposture, it was still a thing impossible, that the words of inspired wisdom could have been thus largely copied after, without preserving, and betraying, some marks and tokens of their divine original. It is not until we shall have thoroughly sifted the gold from the dross, the mutilated fragments of divine truth, from the refuse mass in which they lie buried and embedded, that the impious fabricator of this lying revelation can stand forth discovered to the light; bearing the stamp of antichrist upon his forehead!

But such an analysis of the text and structure of the Koran as must be required from him, who should undertake fully to investigate and expose its *demerits*, would far exceed the limits prescribed by an inquiry like the present: were such an analysis even yet more suitable than it is, to the design proposed in this section; or had it not been rendered altogether unnecessary, by the labours of so many eminent Christian writers. By these champions of truth ample justice has been already rendered to the pseudo-bible of

Mahometanism, considered on its dark side : its glaring absurdities ; its palpable contradictions ; its strange and monstrous admixtures of truth and error ; together with its numberless plagiarisms from the volumes of Rabbinical Judaism, and of heretical Christianity ; — all have been uncloaked, — all have been made familiar to the whole Christian world.

Since in the present case, however, a necessity has arisen of comparing, to so large an extent, this pretended revelation with the Holy Bible ; and of thus allowing it, divested of its more hideous and hateful deformities, to shine so long by the borrowed light of Scripture* ; — something assuredly is demanded in the way of contrast. Hitherto we have listened to the Arabian anti-christ, speaking in a language stolen from inspiration : the time seems, therefore, come, that we should hear him, however briefly, speaking in *his own*.

But before we transcribe a few specimens from those parts of the Koran, which can alone make the slightest pretensions to originality, we would bespeak attention to one grand characteristic of this spurious volume, as a whole : namely, that where its author most closely follows, and where

* “ The Koran shines indeed with a borrowed light, since most of its beauties are taken from our Scriptures ; but it has great beauties, and the Mussulmans will not be convinced that they are borrowed.” Sir William Jones. See *Asiat. Research*, vol. i. p. 374.

he most widely departs from, Scripture, he still equally maintains his proper character, as the antichrist of the East; *imitation of*, and *opposition to*, the true word of God, being alike essential to constitute a false, or antichristian revelation.

Among the marks of falsehood with which the Koran every where abounds, none are more conspicuous than the details which enter into its descriptions of heaven and of hell; and the tedious minuteness with which it profanely affects to disclose the secrets of the invisible world. Upon the irreconcilable contrast which here subsists between this false revelation and the true, nothing needs be said; for nothing can be added to the exemplary censure inflicted by preceding writers on the Koran and its compiler. It is enough that we leave it simply with the reader to compare, with his recollections of the silence or reserve of Scripture upon those awful subjects, the following examples of the terms in which the Koran is used to dilate upon the pains of hell * : —

* It has been remarked to the author by a revered friend, that probably the best method of forming a judgment of Mahomet's descriptions of hell, would be by a comparison of them with the descriptions in the "Inferno" of Dante. The observation is most just: for it is only by comparing the Koran with a merely human composition like itself, that we can estimate either the genius, or the skill, of its fabricator. As a test of his inventive powers, the comparison would not be unfavourable to Mahomet; while the equally monstrous figments of the Arabian false prophet, and of the Italian poet, must teach the utter vanity of all human efforts to depict the inscrutable mysteries of futurity.

“ Verily those who disbelieve our signs, we will surely cast to be broiled in hell-fire; so often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may taste the sharper torment.” Sale’s Koran, chap. iv. p. 105.

“ They who are delivered over to perdition, shall have boiling water to drink,” &c. Ib. ch. vi. p. 167.

“ And thou shalt see the wicked, on that day, bound together in fetters: their inner garments shall be of pitch; and fire shall cover their faces.” Ib. ch. xiv. ad fin.

“ We have surely prepared for the unjust, hell-fire; the flame and smoke whereof shall surround them like a pavilion: and if they beg relief, they shall be relieved with water like molten brass*, which shall scald their faces: O how miserable a potion! and how unhappy a couch! Ib. ch. xviii. p. 117.

* The pains of hell are studiously brought home in the Koran, by images likely to make a lively impression on the Bedoweens of the desert: thus ch. lvi. p. 415. “ And the companions of the left-hand shall dwell *amidst burning winds*, and scalding water, and a black smoke, neither cool nor agreeable.” Again: “ They shall be cast into scorching fire to be broiled: they shall be given to drink of a *boiling fountain*: they shall have no food *but of dry thorns and thistles*; which shall not fatten, neither shall they satisfy hunger.” Ch. lxxxviii. ad init. The artful impostor accumulates the horrors of the Arabian desert: the fierce simoom, with its visionary waters, and its burning sands. See Thalaba, B. iv. p. 189. n.

— “ Sure, through that green meadow flows
The living stream! and lo! their famish’d beast
Sees the restoring sight!
Hope gives his feeble limbs a sudden strength,
He hurries on! — The herbs so fair to eye
Were Senna, and the Gentian’s blossom blue,
And kindred plants, that with unwatered root
Fed in the burning sand, whose bitter leaves
Even frantic famine loathed!” Ib. p. 186.

“ And they who believe not, shall have garments of fire fitted unto them : boiling water shall be poured on their heads ; their bowels shall be dissolved thereby, and also their skins ; and they shall be beaten with maces of iron. So often as they shall endeavour to get out of hell, they shall be dragged back into the same ; and their tormentor shall say unto them, Taste ye the pain of burning !” Sale’s Koran, ch. xxii. p. 169.

“ We have prepared for him who shall reject the belief of the hour of judgment, burning fire : *when it shall see them from a distant place, they shall hear it furiously raging and roaring !*” Ch. xxv. p. 202.

The kind of roar which should thus issue from the flames of the bottomless pit, might have been a question likely enough to arise among the Mahometan commentators. But Mahomet has not left it to the decision of these expositors ; chusing rather to dispose of it himself in a subsequent chapter : — “ And for those who believe not in their Lord, is also prepared the torment of hell ; an ill journey shall it be thither. When they shall be thrown thereinto, *they shall hear it bray like an ass ;* and it shall boil and almost burst for fury !!!” Ch. lvii. p. 450.

Indeed few of these descriptions are simply terrible : in many of them, on the contrary, there is a strange, and even a ludicrous mixture, of the terrible and the grotesque. For example :—

“Whoever shall withdraw from the admonition of the Merciful, we will chain a devil unto him; and he shall be his inseparable companion:—until, when he shall appear before us at the last day, he shall say unto the devil, Would that between me and thee there was the distance of the east from the west! O how wretched a companion art thou!” Ch. xliii. p. 358.

“It shall be said unto them, Go ye to the punishment which ye denied as a falsehood: go ye into the shadow of the smoke of hell, which shall ascend in three columns, and shall not shade you from the heat, neither shall it be of service against the flame: *but it shall cast forth sparks as big as towers, resembling yellow camels in colour.*” Ch. lxxvii. p. 477.

But the terrors of the flame, which was to bray like an ass, and to look like a camel, must yield the palm to the descriptions of the tree Al Zakkum, and of the other nutriments, which are to constitute the regimen of the unbelievers, in a future state:—

“The tree of Al Zakkum is a tree which issueth from the bottom of hell: the fruit thereof resembleth the heads of devils; and the damned shall eat of the same, and shall fill their bellies therewith; and there shall be given them thereon, a mixture of filthy and boiling water to drink: afterwards shall they return into hell.” Ch. xxxvii. pp. 310, 311.

“Verily the fruit of the tree Al Zakkum shall be the food of the impious: as the dregs of oil shall it boil in the bellies of the damned; like the boiling of the hottest

water. And it shall be said to the tormentors, Take him, and drag him into the midst of hell; and pour on his head the torture of boiling water, saying, Taste this !” Ch. xlv. p. 366.

“ Then ye, O men, who have erred, and denied the resurrection as a falsehood, shall surely eat of the fruit of the tree of Al Zakkum, and shall fill your bellies therewith: and ye shall drink thereon, boiling water; and ye shall drink, as a thirsty camel drinketh.* This shall be their entertainment on the day of judgment !” Ch. lvi. p. 415.

If these specimens fail to silence and put to shame the sceptical admirers and apologists of Mahomet and his Koran, assuredly no evidence will content them: the spirit which could lead men deliberately to peruse passages like these, and then deliberately to set up Mahometanism *against* the Gospel revelation, must have other grounds for its enmity to Christianity, than the dictates of reason, or of good taste. Did moral delicacy, however, permit, examples still more horrible and loathsome are not wanting, wherewith to expose as they deserve, the insidious panegyrics of modern infidelity. With such examples, from respect alike to his readers and to himself, the author must decline to stain these pages.

From this revolting sample of the language and spirit of the Koran, wherever it affects ori-

* See note ante, p. 79.

ginality, wherever it deserts for a moment the beaten path of scriptural plagiarism and imitation, we may next turn, for a similar result, to specimens of a somewhat different class : to passages of the Koran, in which the language of Scripture is not copied, but parodied ; is not imitated, but caricatured : in which the sublime figures, and matchless imagery, of the Old and New Testaments are introduced only to be degraded, by being applied, not in a spiritual, but in their *literal* acceptance.

Who, for example, can read without emotion that awful and affecting passage of the Apostle : “ Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you ! Your riches are corrupted ; and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered ; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days ! ” * But how is this sublime imagery travestied in the Koran ? The forced and frigid parody needs not a word of comment ; and shall be left to speak for itself : — “ But unto those who treasure up gold and silver, and employ it not for the

* St. James, v. 1—3. For a commentary on this passage, see “ Sacred Literature,” pp. 257—268.

advancement of God's true religion, denounce a grievous punishment. On the day of judgment, *their treasures shall be intensely heated, in the fire of hell ; and their foreheads, and their sides, and their backs, shall be stigmatized* therewith. And their tormentors shall say, This is what ye have treasured up for your souls ; taste, therefore, that which ye have treasured up !" Ch. ix. p. 244.

Again : what more admirable vehicle for the powerful reasonings of Saint Paul, than the figurative language in the twelfth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians? where the Apostle illustrates the mutual relations and dependencies of the members of Christ's church, from the mutual relations and dependencies subsisting between the several parts or members of the same body. In this fine context, we have the human limbs personified ; and introduced, in the way of figure, as addressing one another : " If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ? And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee : nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you." What the great Apostle of the Gentiles

thus spake in a figure, the pseudo-apostle of Arabia has distorted into a monstrous reality, in the following passage of his Koran : “ And warn them of that day, on which the enemies of God shall be gathered together unto hell-fire, and shall march in distinct bands : until when they shall arrive thereat, *their ears*, and *their eyes*, and *their skins*, shall bear witness against them of that which they shall have wrought. And they shall say *unto their skins*, Wherefore do ye bear witness against us? They [their skins!!] shall answer, *God hath caused us to speak*, who giveth speech unto all things : He created you the first time ; and unto him are ye returned. Ye did not hide yourselves, while ye sinned, so that your ears, and your eyes, and your skins, could not bear witness against you : but ye thought that God was ignorant of many things which ye did. This was your opinion, which ye imagined of your Lord : it hath ruined you ; and ye are become lost people!!!” Ch. lxii. pp. 345, 346.

After parodies like these, the reader may be prepared to peruse without surprise, even such a maxim as the following ; which seems to be in imitation of the warning, in the eleventh chapter of first Corinthians, against the abuse and profanation of the Eucharist : “ O true believers !

come not to prayers when ye are drunk : *until ye understand what ye say !*” Ch. iv. p. 102.

And thus, whatever may have been its secret history, a strict scrutiny of its text will be sure to present the Koran in its only proper character : for, between plagiarisms from Scripture on the one hand, and from Rabbinical Judaism and heretical Christianity on the other, together with the extravagant inventions which almost every where disgrace its attempts at originality, its title to rank as the antichristian opponent of the written word of God stands in every sense established.

The task of resisting and exposing the lying pretensions of this pseudo-bible, may, however, and assuredly ought to be discharged by the Christian advocate, without refusing common justice to such merits as it can fairly claim as its own. Amidst the multitude and heinousness of the defects of such a volume, it was perhaps only natural, that the generality of controversial writers should overlook, or even depreciate, some few original beauties both of expression and of thought. The notion that the Koran is wholly destitute of such beauties, is certainly a very mistaken one : nor has justice yet been done either to the character of those beauties, or to the extent in which they obtain. In the present section we have already sufficiently exemplified

its scriptural plagiarisms and perversions : it remains to direct attention to specimens of imitation of a higher order ; to passages in which, although not justly chargeable as plagiarisms, the sentiment, the manner, the very imagery of Scripture, have been apparently, and not unsuccessfully, copied.

In the following noble passage, Mahomet would seem to have had in his eye our Lord's sublime description, in the twenty-fifth chapter of Saint Matthew, of the final entrance of the righteous into the joy of their Lord : " And Paradise shall be brought near unto the pious ; and it shall be said unto them, This is what ye have been promised ; — every one who turned himself unto God, and kept his commandments ; who feared the Merciful in secret, and came unto him with a converted heart ; enter the same in peace : this is the day of eternity ! " Ch. l. p. 393.

The comparison of human life to the evanescent growth and decay of the plants and flowers of the field, is a figure of familiar recurrence in the Scriptures of both Testaments. The reader will probably be reminded of more than one example of the scriptural use of this simile, by the manner in which it is thus beautifully introduced in the Koran : " Know that this

present life is only a toy, and a vain amusement : and worldly pomp, and the affectation of glory among you, and the multiplying of riches and children, are as the plants nourished by the rain, the springing up whereof delighteth the husbandmen ; afterwards they wither, so that thou seest the same turn yellow, and at length they become dry stubble.” Ch. lvii. p. 420.

The reader may not disrelish the insertion of one or two illustrations of equal beauty, in the same strain : —

As to the unbelievers, their works are like a vapour in a plain, which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water ; until, when he cometh thereto, he findeth it to be nothing : but he findeth God with him, and He will fully pay him his account ! Ch. xxiv. p. 195.

Another, and still happier specimen of the simile, plainly seems to have been suggested by images in our Lord’s parables ; especially in that of the Sower, which, at an humble distance, it resembles, though without any marks of *direct* imitation : —

The likeness of such a one [the uncharitable], is as a
 flint covered with earth,
 On which a violent rain falleth, and leaveth it hard.
 And the likeness of those who lay out their substance
 From a desire to please God,
 And for an establishment for their souls,

Is as a garden on a hill,
On which a violent rain falleth,
And it bringeth forth its fruits two-fold :
And if a violent rain falleth not on it,
Yet the dew falleth thereon. Ch. ii. p. 50.

The sublimity of the passage in which Mahomet describes the divine attributes has been often noticed and acknowledged : but there are instances not so commonly adverted to, in which the Koran reaches the *moral* sublime. It is impossible, for example, to consider, without being deeply impressed by the sublime conception, a passage from the ninth chapter : —

The earth became too strait for them, notwithstanding
its spaciousness ;
And their souls became straitened within them :
And they considered that there was no refuge from God,
Otherwise than by having recourse to him.

The description, in the thirteenth chapter, of the obedience of the elements to the will of God, is very fine :

It is He who causeth the lightning to appear unto you,
To strike fear, and to raise hope ;
And who formeth the pregnant clouds : —
The thunder celebrateth his praise ! P. 56.

A specimen of the epanodos in the thirty-

fifth chapter is equally striking; and much resembles the peculiar manner of Scripture composition:—

The blind and the seeing shall not be held equal :
 Neither darkness and light ;
 Nor the cool shade, and the scorching wind :
 Neither shall the living and the dead be held equal.
 P. 297.

Another magnificent passage, descriptive of the Divine Omniscience, almost reminds us of the book of Job :—

With God are the keys of the secret things ;
 None knoweth them besides himself :
 He knoweth that which is on the dry land ;
 And [he knoweth that which is] in the sea :
 There falleth no leaf, but He knoweth it ;
 Neither is there a single grain, in the dark parts of the
 earth,
 Neither a green thing, nor a dry thing,
 But it is written in the perspicuous book.” Ch. vi. p. 166.

Insulated passages likethose lastquoted, would, however, it is almost needless to add, convey no correct idea of any given context of the Koran : in this strange medley, the sublime is always so nearly allied to the bombastic, the pathetic to the ludicrous, the terrible to the absurd, that each chapter, each page, almost each paragraph,

is sure to give rise to emotions the most opposite and incongruous. Respect, contempt, admiration, disgust, abhorrence, so rapidly succeed each other in the perusal, as to leave absolutely no fixed or uniform impression on the mind.

We may close our extracts, not unappropriately, with a specimen of the extravagance into which the Koran falls, in the vain attempt to imitate and emulate the most remarkable hyperbole in Scripture, the concluding verse of the Gospel of Saint John; where the beloved disciple and evangelist, as though the ordinary terms of language must sink and fail under the majesty of his subject, thus describes by a figure, the wonderful works of Christ: “And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.”

With its frigid and ridiculous parody on this lofty figure of speech, we shall now take our leave of the Koran: “Say, If the sea were ink, to write the words of my Lord, verily the sea would fail, before the words of my Lord would fail; although we added another sea like unto it, as a farther supply!!” Ch. xviii. ad fin.

On the most summary retrospect of the results obtained by our analysis, in the present

section, of the contents and structure of the Koran, the correspondence of those results with the foundational principle of our general argument may be easily and clearly pointed out. For Mahometanism itself being “the Ishmael of Christianity,” and Mahomet the antichristian imitator and opponent of the Divine Founder of our faith, it became essential to the *providential* character and position of this great arch-heresy, that the predicted signs of antichrist should legibly appear, in every part and feature of its written law : that its pseudo-bible should contain at once the most striking resemblances, and the most startling contrasts, to the sacred volumes of the Law and Gospel ; to which it stands, at the same time, spuriously related and opposed. Nor can the Christian reader be affected either with surprise, or regret, in contemplating its brightest specimens of scriptural plagiarism or imitation ; since these resemblances only rank among the signs *prophesied* of antichrist ; and serve towards the fulfilment of that awful parting prediction of our Lord to his disciples :—“ For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders ; insomuch that, if it were possible, THEY SHALL DECEIVE THE VERY ELECT.” *

* That such was the effect, or pretended effect, of the primitive delivery of the Koran, we find distinctly alleged by Mahomet himself, in the fol-

lowing most remarkable passage of his lying revelation: —“ Thou shalt surely find those to be *the most inclinable* to entertain friendship with the true believers, who say, *We are Christians*. This cometh to pass, because there are *priests* and *monks* among them; and because they are not elated with pride. *And when they hear that which hath been sent down unto the Apostle read unto them, thou shalt see their eyes overflow with tears, because of the truth which they perceive therein*; saying, O Lord! we believe; *write us down, therefore, with those who bear witness to the truth.*” Ch. v. pp. 147, 148. Be the matter asserted true or false, this assuredly is none other than the voice of Satan, speaking by the mouth of a “false apostle;” and, as Saint Paul describes him (2 Cor. xi. 14.), transforming himself into “an angel of light.” But Christian writers themselves are compelled, to admit the melancholy truth of the allegation; to concede the fact, that “*Ingens mortalium turba, non solum ethnicorum qui adhuc supersunt, sed Judæorum, Christianorum, et ipsorum qui in religionis claustris degunt, ad Mahumetismum dilabitur.*” Vivaldus, ap. Reland. Præfat.

SECTION IX.

ANALOGY OF MAHOMETANISM WITH JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY, IN ITS SECTS, AND REPUTED HERESIES.

IN every preceding branch of the parallel, which the Mahometan superstition maintains with the Jewish and Christian systems, we have had occasion to observe, that the correspondence is usually one, not merely of fortuitous occurrence, but of designed and studious imitation. This general character of the resemblances preserved, or affected, by the false revelation to the true, is peculiarly applicable to the part of our subject now to be considered; the spurious analogy, namely, of Mahometanism to Judaism and Christianity, in the history, the subdivisions, and even the numerical classification, of its sects.

The notion of a pre-ordained relation between the three creeds, in this important feature of the correspondence, is not left to be gathered only from a comparison of particulars; it is formally advanced and vindicated by Mahometan tradition. According to this tradition, as stated by Shahrestani, the Jews are represented to be

divided into *seventy-one*, the Christians into *seventy-two*, and the Mussulmans into *seventy-three* sects ; these numbers having a reference to the comparative merits of the religions ; and that of seventy-three, if we chuse to credit the doctors, having been foretold by no less authority than that of Mahomet himself, as the number of classes or sects under which his followers should be eventually reduced.* The correctness of the enumerations, and the authority of the pretended prediction, it must rest with those champions of Islamism to defend. Our only concern is with the fact, that the comparison in question was originally instituted by Mahometans themselves : a consideration so far valuable, that it corroborates, on *their* showing, the proof submitted in these pages, respecting the existence, throughout, of a known and acknowledged analogy between the dispensations of the Law and Gospel, and the spurious counterfeit of both. Whatever may have been the motives, and whatever the misrepresentations, of the Arabian antichrist or his disciples, every recognition, on their part, of such an analogy, will have a material share in

* Pocock. Specim. pp. 213, 214. The Mahometans often thus point out the relation of the three systems : indeed they never lose sight of the real or supposed analogy between them. For the Mahometan sects styled *Ramists*, cf. Pocock. ut sup. pp. 25, 293. : for those entitled *Radicals*, ib. pp. 17—25. and p. 212.

confirming the belief of its providential origin : since it is essential to the constitution of an antichristian scheme, both that there should be resemblances to the religions of Christ and of Moses, and that those resemblances should repeatedly be the offspring of design.

But the existence of a real and ascertained parallel between Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism, in the history of their respective sects, does not depend on the frail authority of Mahometan tradition : it may be established beyond controversy, by a short comparative view of the principal subdivisions, under which the component members of each of the three creeds became successively distributed. We have elsewhere examined the parallel doctrines by which the religion of Mahomet maintains a spurious correspondence with the Jewish and Christian revelations* : we come now to the further elucidation of the doctrinal parallel, by a comparison of those great religious parties within the antagonist systems, which were the parents, or the offspring, of their doctrinal disputations.

In the Jewish church, all lesser denominations seem to have been comparatively merged and lost in the two opposed sects of *the Pharisees* and *the Sadducees* : sects which differed indeed

* See sect. vi.

from one another upon the most important questions of belief; but whose bitter religious dissensions appear all to have had their root in the one ground of debate; in the controversy, which had place among the Jews of those days, respecting the authority of tradition: by the sect of the Pharisees, not only was “the tradition of the fathers” upheld, as an authoritative interpreter of the Mosaic law, but, as a rule of faith co-ordinate in authority with the inspired books of Moses: the Sadducees, on the contrary, rejected and denied tradition altogether; and owned no authoritative expositor of the Pentateuch, or of the other Scriptures; but made those sacred books the cloak only and sanction of their own impious errors, while they speciously pretended to understand and interpret them, strictly in their literal sense.

After the example of the ancient Jewish church, the Christian world also, in its turn, became eventually split into two great divisions, the adherents of the church of Rome, and the followers of the Reformation, — upon the same fundamental question, the authority of tradition: the Romanists, like the Pharisees of old, holding the tradition of the church to be of at least co-ordinate authority with Scripture; the reformed, in too many instances, concurring with the rival

Hebrew sect, in disowning the consent of antiquity as of any weight or authority, however secondary and subordinate. *

Now, in the hostile parties to which this very subject of controversy gave birth in the Mahometan superstition, we plainly discern a correspondence with the history of Judaism and Christianity, scarcely less exact, than that which, in this particular, those dispensations maintain between themselves. For the question touching the authority of the law of tradition, as contradistinguished from that of God's written word, which, in the Jews' religion, gave rise to the opposed sects of Pharisees and Sadducees; and which, in western Christendom, formed the grand wall of partition between the church of Rome and the reformed churches; under the Mahometan apostasy, produced a strictly parallel division of parties into *the Sonnites*, the advocates of the Sonnat, or reputed traditions of Mahomet, as the authoritative expositor of the Koran; and *the Shiites*, rejecters of all traditional law, and maintainers of the strict letter of the Koran as the only legitimate guide in matters of faith.

* On the subject of tradition, as on other subjects, the church of England alone has preserved the true medium. See the Appendix to Bishop Jebb's Sermons: — consult, also, Bishop Kaye, *Eccl. Hist. &c.* Second edit. pp. 289—304.

† “In name, as well as design, answering to the *Mishna* of the Jews.” Sale, P. D. p. 205.

This remarkable feature in the analogy between the Jewish and Christian churches, and the Mahometan superstition, subsists in a perfect form, and in its full vigour, at the present day : the Turks, or followers of Omar and his successors in the caliphate, answering to those nations of Christendom, who own the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs ; and the Persians, or sectaries of Ali, who deny the supremacy of the caliphs, coinciding no less appropriately with the several branches, both of the English, and of the continental, reformation. *

If we pursue this parallel still further, we may trace similar correspondencies between the histories of Christianity and of Mahometanism, on a yet more extended scale : for the grand original division of Christendom into the Greek and the Roman, the eastern and the western, churches, has its correlative schisms in the Mahometan world, in the great primitive division between Ali and Omar, the Imams and the Caliphs ; and, in later times, between their respective sectarists, the Persians and the Turks.

* “ *Les catholiques ne haïssent pas plus les protestans, que les traditionnaires, tels que les Ottomans, ne haïssent les sectateurs d'Ali.*” Oelsner, *Effets de la Relig. de Mohamm.* — Cf. De Marlès, *Hist. de la Dominat. des Arabes en Espagne*, tom. i. p. 243, &c. Also, Reland. *De Relig. Moham.* p. 139, 140.

In this comprehensive comparison of the legitimate and the spurious faith, — of the true religion springing from the seed of Isaac, and the lying superstition emanating from the stock of Ishmael, — the bishops of Rome, are to be seen standing in antithetical relation to the successors of Mahomet; and the patriarchs of Constantinople, to the Imams of Mecca: the orthodox Latins have their spurious representatives in the sect of the Sonnites; the heterodox Greeks theirs, in the rival sect of the Shiites: while both the origin, and the whole attending circumstances, of these several divisions, present the kind of mutual similitude, and preserve the degree of mutual correspondence, which may seem sanctioned and required on our fundamental principle of inquiry, — that of a pre-ordained and providential connection between Christianity and Mahometanism, as systems resulting, the former by promise, the latter by permission, from the covenants of God with Abraham, in favour of his two sons.

To obtain a compendious view of the general parallel between the Christian and the Mahometan sects, nothing more will be necessary than a concise classification, under their common subjects of difference, of those various bodies of separatists, to which similar questions of doctrine

or of discipline appear to have given birth, within the antagonist systems of the Gospel and the Koran. We have already pointed out the great analogous schisms which arose, upon the important questions of church-government, and the authority of tradition : for the further analogy of the two creeds, in the character of their related sects, we shall now proceed to compare the kindred parties which sprang up out of the corresponding disputations, upon the origin of evil ; the nature of the Godhead ; liberty and necessity ; the divine attributes ; faith and works, &c.

Upon reference to the sects and heresies within the Christian church, we find the ecclesiastical history of the first centuries largely occupied with accounts of the Manicheans, and of the various denominations of Gnostics, by whom primitive Christianity became but too soon divided and polluted. The doctrine of the two principles, or the question concerning the origin of evil, which is thought to have been first imported from Persia and the Magian superstition, was the undisputed origin of all those heretical sects ; and formed one common bond of connection between them. Now, when we turn for a parallel to the sects and reputed heresies of the Mahometan apostasy, we meet, in the Hashe-

mians and the Nodhamians, two branches of the great sect of the Motazalites, the exact counterparts of the early Manichean and Gnostic heresies; in other words, we find one and the same question, concerning the origin of evil, giving rise to strictly similar debates and divisions. Thus the sect of the Hashemians was so fearful of making God the author of evil, that it would not allow it to be affirmed of him, that he created the unbelievers: while the founder of that of the Nodhamians so studied to avert from the Supreme Being the authorship of evil, that he was for divesting God of all power and control over evil and rebellious actions.* The sect of the Jabarians, another class of Mahometan Gnostics, are charged, on the contrary, with maintaining the monstrous doctrine of the Oriental philosophy, which makes the Deity the sole author both of good and of evil: on the same question, that of the Mozdarians revived the worst ravings of the ancient Gnostics¹: and the Kadarians, (a denomination more ancient than that of Motazalites, and by many considered synonymous with it,) though understood in reality to hold the orthodox opinion, that evil and injustice must not be attributed to God, but to man, — are yet constantly accused, by all other

* Pocock. Spec. pp. 241, 242, &c.

Mahometan sects, of resembling the Magians, by the like introduction of the doctrine of two principles: light, or God, the author of good; and darkness, or the devil, the author of evil.* The slightest examination of the church-history of the first and second centuries, will suffice to prove the *identity* of character, between these several sects, and the first heretics.

In the history of the church, next in order to the Gnostic heresies, must be ranked the whole class of sects which grew up out of a separate debate; the great question respecting the nature of the Godhead, commonly termed the Arian controversy; which, beginning, in the fourth century, with bringing into question the divinity of Christ, advanced, in the end, to the denial of his pre-existence. In every successive age, the maintenance of the doctrine of the Divine Unity, in, what they pretend to call, its first purity, has been the pretext urged both by the Arian, and by the Unitarian, heretics, to justify their dissent from the catholic doctrine of the Trinity†, and their separation from the Catholic church.²

* For the history and opinions of these two sects, see Pocock. Spec. pp. 235—256. passim.

† For the preservation of the scriptural doctrine, under a divine direction, the catholic church owes much to the Athanasian creed; but for its well-guarded definitions and distinctions, the taint of heresy might have spread in secret, and silently leavened the whole mass.

Now, under the sway of the Mahometan apostasy, where the doctrine of the Divine Unity, as it was speciously miscalled, stood as the great essential article of belief, no room might seem to have been left, for the growth of debates or divisions, at all analogous to those which had place in Christendom, upon the mystery of the Godhead. But, however singular, the fact is an ascertained one, that Mahometanism also has had its controversy, touching the nature of the Deity; and that the discussions of the fourth century may be seen strangely revived and paralleled, in the disputations which obtained, between the Mussulmans styling themselves orthodox, and the sect of the Hayetians, or disciples of Ahmed Ebn Hayet, concerning the character and nature of Christ.* By this Mahometan doctor, our Lord was affirmed to be, not a mere man, but “the Eternal Word incarnate;” who “took upon him a true and real body; and will judge all creatures, in the life to come.” After the example of some Christian heretics, Ebn Hayet moreover asserted the doctrine of two gods, or creators of the world: the one eternal, namely, the Most High God; the other non-eternal, namely, the Messiah of the Christians.

* See Pocock. p. 221, &c.

Imperfect and contradictory as were the opinions broached by this Mussulman sectarist, his doctrine of the Godhead, as Mr. Sale has very justly remarked, does not materially differ from the Arian hypothesis; while it is a manifest and decisive advance upon that advocated by the modern Socinians. Nor should that particular aspect of the subject here be lost sight of, which gives its peculiar value to this, and to every similar approximation to catholic truth: the tendency, I mean, of Mahometanism, to assimilate itself to Christianity, through the medium of its reputed heresies. Since, while the heresies of the Christian church uniformly originated in objections to what is mysterious in the scriptural doctrines, the sects accounted heretical among the Mahometans frequently discover, on the contrary, a marked disposition to recognize the great catholic mysteries: as it may affect the final conversion of the Mahometan world, the circumstance may well be regarded as of the deepest interest and importance; for it argues, in the very nature of Mahometanism, an inherent reaching forth towards an eventual union with the universal church of Christ.

The great division in the Christian church, which, in the fourth century, resulted from the contest between Saint Athanasius and Arius,

and their respective followers, concerning the true doctrine of the Godhead, was succeeded, in the fifth, by a fresh distinction of parties : namely, those subdivisions which arose out of the no less memorable controversy between Saint Augustine and Pelagius, upon the questions of grace and predestination. In the course of this debate, the old philosophical doctrines of liberty and necessity, of fate and free-will, were largely drawn upon, to elucidate or obscure the sacred text ; and were revived and agitated, with an unprecedented zeal. It is scarcely needful to add, that, from the fifth century to the present day, these subjects have proved a fertile source of contending sects and schisms, within the church of Christ : the pride of the human understanding, in this, as in the former example, too generally preferring a curious scrutiny into the deep things of God, to an humble and reverential acquiescence in the mysterious truths of Scripture, according to the measure, in which unerring wisdom has seen fit to reveal them.

And here again, there obtains an unexpected correspondence between Christianity and Mahometanism. For, although the creed of Mahomet founded itself, from the first, upon the doctrine of a rigid fatalism, and has inflexibly preserved the tenet of absolute predestination, as

a primary fundamental, a controversy analogous to the Pelagian, nevertheless, sprang up in the Mahometan world; and gave birth, also, to a corresponding variety of theological distinctions and divisions. This parallel contention, and the parties to which it led, are distinctly traceable to the introduction of the Greek philosophy into the schools of the Saracens.* But, however the predestinarian controversy crept in, its analogy with that, which has prevailed in the Latin church, is most exact and striking. Thus, while the Jabarians, and other Mussulman sects denominated orthodox, maintained absolute and irrelative predestination, as the very key-stone of the faith, the great sect of the Kadarians, in all its branches, no less vehemently contended for the opposite belief: these Pelagians of Mahometanism wholly rejected the divine decrees; denied the doctrine of predestination; and, in common with the ancient Pelagians, and the ultra-Arminians of modern times, in the Christian church, asserted the unqualified free-agency of man.†³

* It is very remarkable, that the Mahometan synod of Bosra pronounced its union with the Greek philosophy, to be the only means of purifying their religion. This was the received belief among the Motazalites: and the system of doctrines compounded by them, was actually accused by the orthodox of being Christianity. See Oelsner, p. 149.

† Compare Pocock. pp. 235—256.

Next to those Mahometan sects, which owed their origin to the controversy concerning the divine nature and decrees, or rather as emanating from them, should be classed the parties within the chief Mussulman denominations, who agitated the scholastic debate respecting the attributes of the Deity. This disputation properly belongs to Mahometanism : for it would seem to have been first instituted in the Saracenic schools ; and thence to have passed into the hands of the Jewish and Christian schoolmen, the offspring and pupils of the Mahometan. ⁴

At its first rise in the schools of the Saracens, the question of the attributes distinctly appears to have been levelled against Christianity, and the catholic doctrine of the Trinity. To avoid the distinctions of persons in the Godhead, as maintained by the Christian church, the Motazalites excluded all eternal attributes from their definition of God. And the several subordinate questions moved by these sectarists, as, Whether God knew by his knowledge or by his essence ? Whether his attributes were properties distinct from his essence, or themselves constituted his essence ? with such like metaphysical subtleties, borrowed from the study of the Greek philosophy, had for their common object the vindication of the great fundamental of the Ma-

hometan religion, its doctrine of the Divine Unity.⁵

In their discussions upon the attributes and nature of the Godhead, Maimonides and the Jewish scholastics on the one hand, and the heretical disciples of Peter Abelard on the other, eagerly caught up the disputes of their Saracen preceptors: a point of contact, through which the connection may be clearly traced, between Mahometanism, and more recent forms of Unitarianism so called, as *parent* and *child*. However the affiliation may be disowned by the modern school of “rational Christians,” it has been candidly and cheerfully recognized, on more than one occasion, by their less refined perhaps, but more ingenuous and plain-dealing predecessors.⁶

The growing inclination of Mahometanism towards Christianity, from the period of its subdivision into numerous sects and party denominations, is no where more strikingly illustrated, than in the conduct of the debate on the divine attributes: for, the accusation preferred by the Motazalites against their opponents the Sefatians, and all other Mussulman sectarists who asserted the eternity of the attributes, was shortly and simply this,—“That *they had violated the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead, by making more*

Eternals than one ; thereby adopting the Christian belief*, which inculcates the doctrine of a distinctness of persons in the divine nature.”⁷

Upon the question respecting faith and works, or the doctrines of divine grace, and human merit, the analogy between Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism, in the history of their sects, is also substantially preserved : the Pharisees and Publicans in the Jewish church, being paralleled, in ancient Christendom, by the opposed schools of Saint Austin and of Pelagius, and in modern Christendom, by the disciples of Calvin, and those of Arminius ; while, in this feature of their history, on the part of Islamism, a correspondence with both dispensations is very forcibly presented, in the contest between the sect of the Waïdians, and that of the Morgians : the former of which sects asserts, in its fullest sense, the moral responsibility of every man for his actions ; in direct opposition to the latter, which pushes its rejection of human responsibility, to the last extreme of the antinomian doctrine.†

Among the Turkish sects, this particular controversy has been more generally moved ; and

* It is almost needless to observe, that this, like the accusations of modern Socinianism, is grossly inaccurate. Orthodox Christians, while they assert a distinctness of persons in Godhead, expressly state, that it consists of “ not three eternals, but One Eternal.”

† Pocock. Spec. pp. 251—257.

their analogy with the conflicting parties in the Jewish and Christian churches is proportionately marked : the community of the Dervises, like the followers of Saint Augustine, strenuously upholding the operations of the grace of God in man, as vitally essential to the production of good works ; the sect of the Tzofilar, after the example of the Pharisees among the Jews, and of the disciples of Pelagius in the Christian church, strongly advocating the sufficiency of human merit, considered altogether independently of the divine aid and influences. *

Besides the correspondence which has been now briefly indicated between Christianity and Mahometanism, in the history of their sects and schisms, there subsists a further analogy, in the rise of the religious orders, which successively sprang up within the two systems. This feature of the general parallel will find an appropriate place, in the ensuing comparison of the Mahometan with the papal superstition.

* Hott. Hist. Orient. p. 365.

SECTION X.

ANALOGY OF MAHOMETANISM WITH POPERY.

IN the preceding sections, the religion of Mahomet has been compared with Christianity at large, in its eastern and western branches; in order to the exposition, on a scale sufficient for the final object of our argument, of the several analogies ascertained to subsist between the two religions.

The analogy of Mahometanism with the church of Rome, constitutes a distinct and prominent feature in the general parallel; and, as such, is entitled to a separate consideration. In a former place *, it was stated, that the rival ecclesiastico-political tyrannies appear to be represented in the prophecy of Daniel, under the common symbols of the eastern and western little horns. It shall be my present aim, to trace out more fully the detail of that actual similitude, which made it but natural, that they should be symbolized under a common type.

Before we proceed, however, to the facts of

* Sect. ii.

this detail, it may be satisfactory to reflecting minds, that some notice should be taken of the remarkable providence visible in the particular point of time which gave birth to Mahometanism.

From the nature of the primitive relation between the two systems, the inference is plain, that Mahometanism must necessarily have *followed* Christianity in order of time: it was providentially destined to be the spurious counterpart of the true revelation; with which, consequently, it was impossible that it should synchronize, since it belongs essentially to the character of *heresy*, that it should spring up from the corruptions of the true faith. Now, the natural and proper season for the rise of such an apostasy would, obviously, be a period wherein the true religion should have reached its lowest ebb of degeneracy. Again, if Mahometanism was ordained to rank as the eastern head of antichrist, it might further be expected to coincide chronologically with the rise of antichrist in the west.—How then, let us inquire, in point of fact, does Mahometanism stand circumstanced in both these respects? The answer of history is conclusive for our argument. It arose in the seventh century of the Christian era; that is to say, precisely at the worst and lowest epoch of corrupted Christianity. It arose, also, in one

and the same age, if not rather in the very year, in which papal Rome first and permanently erected her antichristian tyranny in the opposite quarter of the globe.

The corruptions of Christianity, in the East and in the West, sprang up, it is matter of notoriety, in the apostolic age itself; and grew and multiplied exceedingly, at a very early period of church history. From the first century downward, both the eastern and the western church exhibited melancholy precursive tokens of an approaching universal decline, from the principles, and from the power, of true religion. The gradual declension of the two great branches of Christendom was distinguished, however, from its outset, by this remarkable contrast,—that, while the apostasy of the Greek church lay, chiefly, in the generation of heretical pravity, that of the Latin, consisted, principally, in the growth of superstition, and of its never-failing accompaniment, moral corruption. The proficiency of the two churches, in these distinct departments of iniquity, advanced progressively, from age to age, towards full maturity, in despite of many and powerful providential counteractions; until, at the commencement of the seventh century, as every kind of authority combines to demonstrate, the decay of religion and morals had become universal, throughout Chris-

tendom. Contemporary witnesses describe the appalling evils of the times ; and anticipate some commensurate impending visitation.¹ It would appear, that, as at the period of the deluge, the whole Christian world had now perverted its ways before God ; and, accordingly, a twofold visitation, faithfully adapted to the twofold character of their apostasy, fell, in one hour, upon the two churches. The same age, nearly the same point of time, gave birth to the arch-heresy of Mahomet in the East, and to the temporal tyranny of the Papal power in the West : the latter domination to become the champion and the scourge of moral, as the former of heretical, corruption.

Christianity and Mahometanism, compared together under the characters which they respectively bore, at the periods of their first promulgation, faithfully reflect the image, and throughout, preserve the distance, of the original covenants with Isaac and Ishmael : the religion of the Gospel, like the former covenant, being pure, peaceful, spiritual, and free ; that of the Koran, like the latter covenant, carnal, sanguinary, secular, slavish : in a word, taking up the comparison at this point, the analogy is every way that which might be expected to subsist, between the religion emanating from the legitimate,

and the superstition springing from the spurious, seed ; in every sense the Gospel shines transcendent.

But at that awful period when Mahometanism arose, the parallel between the two systems assumes a wholly different aspect : the comparison no longer lies between the essentially opposed principles of the Gospel and Koran ; but, by the just retribution of God's Providence toward an apostate church and people, between the kindred corruptions of the Mahometan tyranny, and its genuine counterpart, Papal Rome.

The relations of resemblance and contrast, of sympathy and opposition, which combine to link together these hostile ecclesiastico-political dominations, have been repeatedly touched on in the progress of this work ; and compose, altogether, one of the most striking features of its general argument. It becomes now our duty to assemble the detached phenomena, and to present this important branch of the parallel, as a whole.

The following is a circumstantial outline of the leading heads of correspondence : —

1. Coincidence in time : the beginning of the seventh century stands as the common era, for the commencement of the Papal and Mahometan tyrannies.

2. Antithetical relation of place : Papal Rome held in the West, exactly the position which Ma-

hometanism occupied in the East ; was, in other words, the providential scourge to western, which Mahometanism was to eastern, Christendom.

3. Each despotism was, in its very essence, a union of the spiritual and the temporal power ; and such a union, as neither time nor change, which loosen every bond of merely human policy, has been able to dissolve.²

4. The Pope was the acknowledged temporal and spiritual head of the Roman or Latin church : the Caliph the acknowledged temporal and spiritual head of the Mahometan world ; insomuch as to be styled, by both Christian and Jewish writers in the middle ages, the Pope of the Mahometans.*

5. The Roman pontiffs claimed to derive their authority, and that of their church, by regular succession, from Saint Peter, the first of the apostles : the caliphs claimed to derive theirs, by regular succession, from Mahomet, according to their creed, the last and greatest of the apostles of God.

6. The Papal and Mahometan tyrannies alike advanced the claim to universal sovereignty.

* The words of Friar Bacon are — “ Calipha quasi Papa eorum : ” the correspondence was too exact, to escape the notice of an enemy to both superstitions ; “ Calipha Muhammedanorum religionis antistes est ; *ipsique omnes Ismaelitarum reges fasces submittunt* ; iis, enim, *codem modo præest, quo Papa Christianis.*” Benjamin. Itin. p. 63. ap. Hott. Hist. Orient. p. 287.

7. They alike enforced their pretensions by persecution and the sword.

8. Mahometanism instituted the Saracen holy wars : Popery originated the Christian crusades.

9. Popery, among other first-fruits of the crusades, produced the mendicant orders : Mahometanism, the parallel mendicant orders of Dervises, Fakirs, Santons, &c.

10. Mahometanism was the parent, Popery the nurse, of the schoolmen.*

11. The Christian princes of the West all held their crowns by authority of the Roman pontiffs ; to whom accordingly they did fealty and homage for them : all Mahometan princes held theirs, on a like tenure, by authority of the caliphs.

12. Popery and Mahometanism alternately appear, first, as the extinguishers, and, secondly, as the restorers, of letters.

The parallel comprized in this brief enumeration, like that between Christianity and Mahometanism at large, is one, of which the history of the world supplies no second example. Particulars of it have been repeatedly noticed by Protestant writers ; but to understand its real extent, and its place in the present argument, it must be contemplated in its full character and proportions.

In tracing the necessary steps of this analogy,

* See sect. xiii.

it is remote, indeed, from the writer's intention, to identify the antichristian papal tyranny, with the western Catholic church. Under the yoke of Rome, indeed, the rights and liberties of the Latin church had altogether passed away: the pure and peaceful spirit of the Gospel had long been submerged, beneath the incumbent weight of a dark and bloody superstition: in every period, however, of that bondage, even in the worst, the western church preserved unextinguished the vital spark of its Christianity: nor, while men chronicle the crimes of the church and court of Rome, should the list of worthies be forgotten, which ennobles her annals, and which all but redeems her heavy kalendar of guilt. The church, which, at a period that has been justly entitled the night of Europe, produced a Saint Bernard, a Bede, a Thomas-à-Kempis*, with other shining lights, — which, in later times, engendered and matured the piety and virtues of a Fenelon, an Arnaud, a Pascal, a Nicole, — is no meet subject for indiscriminate censure. Protestant writers, in particular, would do well to recollect, that to popes, and devoted ministers of the papal power, they stand indebted for much of the knowledge and civilization, which

* The author of the “*De Imitatione Christi*,” whoever he may have been, has appropriated this name to himself, by the best of titles.

constitute the strength and glory of Protestant Europe. The pontifical family of the Medici were rendered not more noted by their services to the cause of Romish bigotry and persecution, than illustrious by their zeal for the restoration of learning: by the munificent patronage which he extended to letters and the fine arts, Leo X. himself, fostered with one hand, while he opposed with the other, the rise and progress of the glorious Reformation.

But, without at all losing sight of these providential compensations, when we recall to mind, on the other hand, the whole mystery of iniquity brought to the birth and nurtured by the church and court of Rome, — when we reflect, that a character of Popery, more fearful and revolting than any ever framed by the prejudices of its opponents, may be drawn from the testimony of its own advocates and adherents³, — it would imply, assuredly, a surrender of the truth, such as Christian charity never could require, to remain blind to the awful correspondence of papal Rome, to the Babylon of the Apocalypse, or to its identity with the antichrist prefigured, in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, by Saint Paul. It is in this aspect of Popery, that the comparison with Mahometanism holds properly and painfully true: great as the superiority of this Catholic apostasy is, in every better feature,

it may, in its antichristian characteristics, be unequivocally pronounced, the prophetic counterpart of that “abomination of desolation.”

In exposing the further proofs of the correspondence between these rival superstitions, the writer must distinctly and cordially disclaim every merely controversial purpose: his simple aim is truth; and it shall be his single endeavour, to elicit the truth, by following faithfully the reciprocal lights of history and Scripture prophecy.

The analogy, as yet but generally intimated, will lose nothing by a nearer and more exact inspection. Grasping in their hands the keys of the kingdoms of earth and heaven, and issuing their irresistible mandates from Rome, the alleged metropolis of the Christian world, the Popes set up their claim, to be, at once, the sole and supreme arbiters in all matters of religion, throughout Christendom, and the divinely-constituted creators, depositors, and restorers of kings*: the

* The progress of the papal antichrist has often been delineated; but seldom so forcibly as by the author of “*Lux Renata*, A Protestant’s Epistle:” a master-piece of moral satire, in which the spirit of the poet is at once tempered and sustained, by the profound acquirements of the theologian. The readers of Pope and Dryden will recognize their favourite school of English versification, in the following nervous lines:—

Long were the task, through each degree to trace
 God’s servant’s servant to his pride of place:
 To note how, borne above his lowly birth,
 He rear’d his crosier o’er the lords of earth;
 To robes of empire chang’d his priestly gown,
 And swell’d the mitre to the triple crown.

.....

Much

most ancient and powerful sovereigns of Europe were content to hold their sceptres from the pretended successor of Saint Peter; and to them, also, each new dynasty looked for a secure title to those domains, which had been, or which were to be, acquired by their swords: seated on the chair of the Vatican, an eminence more lofty than the loftiest thrones, the Roman pontiffs, the princes of the kings of the earth, kindled and directed those Holy Wars, in which the German emperors, and French and English kings, appeared on the theatre of Asia, but as their lieutenants and vassals.

Let the scene only be changed from Rome, to Bagdad or Damascus;—to the successors of Mahomet, from the self-entitled successors of Saint Peter,—and the extent of the parallel cannot fail to impress every observer. Wielding that earthly sword, which Mahomet himself had pronounced to be “the key of heaven,” and issuing their commands from the metropolis of the Mahome-

Much power by fraud, by terror more was gain'd,
This guilt accorded, falsehood that obtain'd.
With lavish hand both saint and sinner gave,
One stung by conscience, one to zeal a slave.
Till the proud harlot, from her seven-fold hill,
Saw prostrate nations cower beneath her will;
And his broad arms the peaceful fisher threw,
More wide, Augustus, than thine eagles flew.

Lux Renata. London, 1827.

tan world, the Arabian caliphs long asserted and sustained their claim to supreme authority, temporal and spiritual, over the subject nations of the East : in the height of their power, they impelled and ruled the tide of war, which bore the triumphant crescent of Mahomet to the shores of the Bosphorus, or to the pinnacles of the Pyrennees ; in their diminished fortunes, they bestowed the kingdoms of the earth, at will, upon successive dynasties of Mahometan princes ; and even their haughty and ferocious vassals, the barbarous Turks, accounted it their policy and pride, to hold their conquests and their crowns, by right of the investiture received from “ the head of the true believers.” *

Nor were the pretensions of the popes and caliphs to supreme power, confined within the bounds of western Christendom on the one hand, or of the existing Mahometan world on the other : the claim set up by both, was a claim to

* Thus we find Mahmud of Gazna, in the plenitude of imperial power, deriving increased authority and lustre from his nominal vassalage to the caliphs : — “ The fame of Mahmud’s continued conquests in Hindostan, and triumphs over idolatry, having reached Bagdad, the caliph then reigning made a great festival on the joyful occasion ; *conferred on him titles of the highest honour* ; and ordered an account of his victories to be publicly read to the enraptured populace. Mahmud, in A.D. 1021, to manifest a proper sense of gratitude for these favours, dispatched an army, headed by a skilful general, to open the roads to Mecca ; which had long been obstructed by the wild Arabs, who were accustomed to murder the pilgrims, and plunder the caravans.” Maurice’s History of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 286.

universal sovereignty over the faith and fortunes of mankind.

While, at home, the Roman pontiffs undertook to partition Europe at their pleasure, they acknowledged no narrower limits to their rightful sway, in foreign parts, than the boundaries of the known world : with the enlargement of these boundaries, accordingly, the measure of papal ambition was seen proportionately to enlarge ; and, in the fifteenth century, no sooner had the age of discovery arisen, to lay open a new world, and to trace out new paths through the old, than the same arbiters of nations, by two summary deeds of conveyance, bestowed America on the Spaniards, and India on the Portuguese.

In perfect sameness of spirit with the dispenser of these gifts, the Caliph of Bagdad had, four hundred years before, bestowed India on Mahmud, the Turkish Sultan of Gazna, the first Mahometan invader and conqueror of Hindostan : the caliphate thus maintaining, in its latest period of decay, that parallel claim to universal sovereignty, which prompted the hostile expeditions of the primitive Saracens against Christian Europe ; and which aimed, in one and the same vast enterprise, to plant the standard of the Prophet on the altar of the Vatican, and on the dome of Saint Sophia.⁴

Christianity, when originally sent forth to bless and benefit a benighted world, had been pronounced by its Divine Founder, the religion of peace : a character of the Gospel, which serves to heighten the force of the parallel between Popery and Mahometanism ; antichristian tyrannies, which are known, alike, to sanction the employment of persecution, as the legitimate handmaid of religion. The appeal enjoined by the precepts of both superstitions, is, not to reason, but, to force. Mahomet in the Koran, expressly forbids his followers to reason at all with infidels ; but exhorts them to silence the arguments of infidelity by the sword : “ Fight against them, until there be no opposition left in favour of idolatry, and the religion be wholly God’s.” In close conformity with this persecuting precept of the Koran, we find, under the institutions of papal Rome, even the good Saint Louis instructing his crusaders, not to answer the unbelievers, but to thrust their swords into them, up to the hilt. ⁵

Persecution was the cardinal rule of Mahometanism. The following decisive authorities may suffice, as specimens of the similar spirit, and ordinances of the Roman church. By the third canon of the fourth council of Lateran, it is commanded, “ that all temporal lords shall

take an oath to exterminate, to the utmost of their power, all heretics, declared to be such by the church ; and that, if any temporal lord, being admonished by the church, shall neglect to purge his tenantry from all taint of heresy, he shall be excommunicated by the metropolitans, and other provincial bishops ; and if he contemptuously omit to give satisfaction within a year, it shall be signified to the holy pontiff, in order that he may proclaim his vassals absolved from their allegiance, and may expose to Catholics his territory, to be occupied by them ; who, having exterminated the heretics, may possess the same without contradiction.”⁶ At a comparatively recent period of her annals, the church of Rome is described by one of her most illustrious ornaments, the celebrated Bishop of Meaux, “ as the most intolerant of all Christian sects ; it is her holy and inflexible incompatibility which renders her so odious to Protestants ; it is this, which renders her so severe and so unsocial to all sects separated from her ; they only desire to be tolerated by her, but her holy severity forbids such indulgence :” again : — “ *The exercise of the power of the sword*, in matters of religion and conscience, is a point not to be called in question ; there is no delusion more dangerous, than to make toleration a characteristic of the true

church.”⁷ * The maxims of persecution for religion’s sake, here, and in ten thousand instances beside, inculcated by her councils or her fathers, have, in every age, and in every quarter of the globe, been illustrated by the practice of the church of Rome: France, Flanders, Britain, Italy, Portugal, Spain, have, in turns, been the theatres of her European massacres and desolations; India and America bear record, in characters of blood, to the consistent tyranny, in the remotest regions of the east and west, of her dark and unchanging despotism. The attempts of her apologists to varnish over, or explain away, the appalling facts which, on every side, elucidate her code of persecution, serve only to bring before us another feature of the antichristian character of papal Rome, by exposing more fully her calculating and systematic disregard of truth.⁸ And, not to revive the memory of other, and still more recent horrors,—with the daggers of St. Bartholomew, the sword of Alva, and the fires of the Inquisition, present to the eye, who, save the slavish advocates of that tyranny under which they groan, can refuse to acknowledge, in these revolting scenes, the native and unchangeable character of the Romish superstition?⁹

Nor is it only from the spirit of persecution,

* Bossuet, *Avertissement sur Les Lettres de M. Jurieu.*

which thus characterizes both tyrannies, that this branch of the parallel can be made to appear: the analogy will be found to obtain circumstantially, and with an historical exactness, in all respects correspondent with the providential relation which subsists between the rival apostasies. Both in the carrying on of war against the infidels without, and in the conduct of religious persecutions against heretics within, the pales of their respective dominations, the popes and the caliphs stand antithetically related and opposed to each other; and, while the origin of the crusades, assimilates the Roman pontiffs to the primitive character of the successors of Mahomet, the persecutions at Bagdad, under the Abbasside caliphs, on the question of the creation of the Koran, and for other subtilties of doctrine, abundantly invest Mahometanism with attributes corresponding to the proper character of papal Rome.

But, further, it is remarkable equally of both tyrannies, that the holy wars which they respectively levied, were not limited in their operation to foreign infidelity; they were carried on by each, with equal zeal and rigour, against domestic heresies, and against the sects accounted heretical, within the pale of its communion: thus, the memorable crusades set on foot by the

popes, against the Waldenses, Albigenses, and other early martyrs in the cause of reformation, find ample parallels in the annals of the caliphs. And not to instance this in the case of other Mahometan heresies, it is recorded of the single sect of the Horrimæans, in the reign of Mutasim Billah, that sixty thousand perished in one battle, and one hundred thousand in another, fought, within the same year, with the troops sent to oppose them from Bagdad. *

In no respect perhaps, not excepting its canons for the extirpation of heretics, (of all, that is, who, in matters civil or religious, oppose themselves to the authority of Rome,) does the antichristian character of the papal tyranny stand more signally revealed, than in the well-known tenet, often preached, and still oftener practised by Romanists, which maintains that faith is not to be kept with heretics; that any engagements entered into with men reputed such, are not binding, but may lawfully be broken; and that heresy is a crime which justifies the violation even of the sanctity of the most solemn oaths. Modern Roman Catholics have naturally been anxious to disown, on the part of their church, the prevalence, and even the existence, of this monstrous maxim: the special pleadings

* See Elmacin. Hist. Sar. p. 141.

of the controversialist, however, are not likely to carry much weight with protestant readers, so long as the names of John Huss, and of the brave Coligny, retain a place in the history of the reformation.¹⁰

The corresponding mark of antichrist in the Mahometan apostasy, I shall expose in the words of Mr. Gibbon ; bringing the practical experience of a recent observer on the spot, to illustrate and confirm his statement : — “ The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no person can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion ; and that the sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors.”* In a recent occurrence on the northern frontier of Persia, may be seen the natural fruits of this nefarious doctrine. The comment is worthy of the text. “ The Russian commander of Gango, on the Persian frontier, assembled the principal Mahometan inhabitants of the place, and insisted on their swearing to be faithful to Russia, on the Koran. They objected to this, without previously consulting their moollah ; and desired time to do so. The moollah recommended them not to hesitate, as such an oath would not be binding towards infidels ; so they took it.”† The tragical

* Decline and Fall, vol. xii. p. 187.

† Extract of a letter from the Persian frontier, August 22, 1826.

catastrophe which presently followed, may serve as the finishing stroke to this dark feature of the parallel with Romanism : — these very Persians surprised and murdered the unsuspecting Russian garrison ! just as the authors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew dealt with the defenceless Coligny, and his Hugonot brethren ; violating, in like fashion, the sanctity of a solemn oath !

We proceed to examine coincidences of a different class from the preceding, between Mahometanism and the church of Rome : the correspondence of the eastern and western antichrists, in their antisocial principles and maxims, is not more characteristic, than that which may be traced between these superstitions, in their respective establishments and institutions.

In the ancient Jewish church, the annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem, — rendered unavoidable by the necessity imposed on every Israelite, of discharging his religious vows, by offering up sacrifices in the temple, — formed a constituent part of the Jews' religion : the usage naturally passed into the early Christian church, where Jerusalem had acquired another and livelier interest, as the scene of the life and miracles, the death and resurrection, of the Divine Author of Christianity. By the policy of the Roman pontiffs, these natural and laudable sympathies were gradually

converted into an organized scheme of superstition, and engine of power : the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was now taken into the hands of the popes ; what had been a voluntary service, was changed into a compulsory duty ; new laws of pilgrimage were enacted ; new places of pilgrimage ordained ; the tombs of newly kalendared saints and martyrs were substituted for the original object of attraction, the Holy Sepulchre ; and pilgrimage, reduced to regular rules and forms, became transmuted, from a catholic observance, into a Romish penance. ¹¹

From this period, the analogy between the pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Mecca, and to the shrines of Romish and Mussulman saints, assumes a prominent rank, in the parallel between the great eastern and western apostasies. The pilgrimage to Mecca formed a primitive fundamental of the Mahometan creed : in every age of the Hejra, it had been conducted on a scale corresponding with that, which, from the commencement of the eleventh century, to the close of the crusades, characterized the Latin pilgrimages to Jerusalem ; while, for those who were unable to perform or to repeat this greater ordinance, a substitute existed in the Mahometan superstition, strictly analogous to the alternative provided by the church of Rome, — devotional

visits, namely, to the tombs of reputed saints or martyrs of Mahometanism. The miracles performed at these tombs, are equally the boast of both systems *; and equally authenticated, by a body of evidence, which it is far less difficult to invent, than to believe.¹²

If the correspondence between popery and Mahometanism in their other rites and institutions be strong, it will be found more forcibly striking, in *the character of their religious orders*. Those peculiar characteristics of the ascetical life, which have formed, successively, the proud distinction of the most celebrated religious foundations of the church of Rome, and which have been arrogated by her champions, as among the exclusive marks of the true church, are not more ostentatiously exhibited in her most rigid forms of monastic seclusion, than in the colleges and cells of the Mahometan dervises and santons. The mendicant orders of monks and friars, the genuine offspring of popery and the crusades, find their faithful counterparts among the religious communities emanating from the rival superstition. The rules of the principal Roman Catholic orders are too well and too generally

* “ Ipsi fateri cogantur Pontificii, non pauciora commemorare Turcas de Sanctis suis miracula, quàm habere præ se ferant ipsi.” Hott. Hist. Orient. p. 303.

known, to require specification. I proceed, therefore, at once to exemplify, from good authorities, the Mahometan side of the parallel; and shall leave it with the reader to trace for himself the palpable features of identity, between its fanatical ascetics, and the ascetical fanaticism of papal Rome. *

The following is the description, drawn by the translator of Demetrius Cantemir, of the religious orders of Turkey, as they exist to this day throughout the Ottoman empire. "*Dervise* is the common name of *the Turkish monks*, though of *various orders and institutions*. The most noted among them are the Bektashi, the Mevelevi, the Kadri, and the Seyah. The monks of the order of Bektashi, though they may marry, and dwell in cities and towns, are bound by their law to visit remote lands; and to salute every one they meet with gazel (or divine love songs), and esma (or invocations), and to wish him all manner of prosperity, &c. The Mevelevi, *in their monasteries*, profess great *humility and poverty*; and,

* The doctrine of works of supererogation, which has served to stimulate the mortifications of the Romish devotee, might seem to have been derived from Mahometanism: at least, it is distinctly laid down in the Koran: "And watch some part of the night in the same exercise [prayer], as a *work of supererogation for thee*; peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honourable station." Sale's Koran, vol. ii. p. 107. "According to a tradition of Abu Horeira, the *honourable station* here intended, is that of *Intercessor for others*." Ib. translator's note *h*.

if visited, they make no distinction of persons, but pay the same respect to men of all ranks, treating them alike. *They also wash the feet and sandals of their guests.* The Kadri, with a peculiar superstition, *emaciate their bodies, &c.* The Seyah are wanderers, and *though they have their monasteries*, yet, when once they depart from them, they seldom return, but *spend their time in travelling about.* For their superiors or *prelates** impose upon them, when they are sent out, a levy to a large amount of *money or provisions*, forbidding them to come back, *till they have procured it, and sent it to the monastery.*"¹³

In the different orders of dervises here described, the reader will, at once, recognize the palpable and various analogy with the religious orders of papal Rome. The strict affinity between the Roman and Mahometan orders of ascetics and mendicants, in their rules and vows, is most perceptible: the emaciations of the body, the vows of poverty, of humility, of obedience, the compulsory confinement in monasteries, or

* "*Shich, or prelate, like the archimandrite in the Greek monasteries, or the abbot in abbeys.* For, with the Turks, not only the superiors of the great and royal *Jami*, but also the heads of the *Takkè* of the dervises are called *Shich*. Hence even *the mufti*, who is instead of a *patriarch*, is wont to be called *Shich ulislam*, i. e. *Prelate of the saved*, and **HIGH PRIEST.**" Cantemir, Book i. note 17. English Translation.

journeyings in foreign parts on religious missions, the levying, as mendicants, and in the shape of alms, contributions for the support of their respective colleges and convents, — these capital coincidences taken together, make out such a correspondence between Popery and Mahometanism in this branch of the parallel, as to free us from all necessity for further comment or detail.* If the religious fraternities of the church of Rome have been marked by high pretensions to external sanctity, they seem to be in no degree yielded to, in this respect, by their Mahometan counterparts†, as characterized by the learned Hottinger, on the testimony of creditable eye-witnesses: — “Such is the exemplary deportment of the dervises, in all their words and actions, and so great the ostentation of devoutness visible in their manners, and even in their movements, that they

* Nor can the sincerity of these devotees be reasonably impugned by Romanists themselves: “*Quam serui sint [Dervislar], in religione sua, satis superque sciunt pontifici; qui licet jam diu conventus inter eos habuerint, ne unum eorum toto seculo ad fidem Romanum trahere potuerint.*” Hott. H. O. p. 310.

† Although not ranking with the religious orders, we must not omit to remark the correspondence between the Popish and the Mahometan *mystics*: in both systems, these religionists emanated from the same source, — the scholastic theology; which owed its origin to Mahometanism, to which, therefore, the R. C. school of mysticism may be traced. The relation appears from the sameness of phraseology, of subjects, and even of titles, employed in their writings by the Romish and by the Mahometan mystics. See Sect. xiii.

wear the semblance rather of angels than of men.”*

But one more feature of agreement has been reserved to perfect the analogy; namely, the obligation of celibacy which Popery and Mahometanism unite in imposing on their monastic confraternities: the rules of the Roman Catholic church on this head, are universally familiar; and of the Mahometans, we are informed by Septem Castrensis, and others cited by Hottinger, that celibacy, as well as abstinence, is a standing injunction of their monastic discipline; and that “the dervises, for the greater part, if not uniformly, lead a life of strict celibacy,” as part of their vow.†

In the rules of its monastic institutions, the Mahometan, in common with the Romish superstition, thus clearly exemplifies two conspicuous marks of Antichrist furnished by the Apostle: — “forbidding to marry, and commanding to ab-

* “Sunt tantæ exemplaritatis in omnibus eorum dictis et factis, in moribus et motibus quoque tantam præferentes religionis ostensionem, ut non homines sed angeli videantur esse.” Hist. Orient. p. 308, 309. M. Hottinger conceives that the progressive increase of Mahometanism must be attributed, in a great measure, to this outward show of piety; “Muhammedicam sectam *hinc maximè* (apud eos qui non habent αὐθιγηρία γεγυµνασµενα) sua habere incrementa, quod ad externam sanctitatem ei nihil videatur deesse.” Ib. p. 304.

† “Dervishler, plurimam partem, si non omnes, caelebes sunt.” Septem Castrens. ap. Hott. ut supr.

stain from meats.”* The rule of celibacy in force among the dervises, is the more remarkable, as, on a first view, celibacy would seem altogether abhorrent from the character and genius of the Mahometan religion.

The division of the clerical order in the church of Rome, into the two great classes of seculars and regulars, has also its counterpart in the Mahometan system ; for the priests, or tusmans, are contra-distinguished, among the Turks, from the religious, or dervises :† the fundamental ground of jealousy, too, appears to be the same ; the main question in dispute, between the tusmans and the dervises, as between the seculars and regulars in the Romish church, being this, whether the vows, and alms, and oblations of the people, are legally the right of the priests, or of the religious?‡

On the analogy between the Romish and Mahometan ecclesiastics generally, we have next to observe, that the two bodies do not differ more widely in their spiritual characters and functions, than they agree in the nature of that

* 1 Tim. iv. 3.

† “ SACERDOTES, *Tusmanni* dicuntur, et RELIGIOSOS *Derviser* nuncupantur.” Sept. Castr. ap. Hott. p. 297. For the varied orthography, — *Derviser*, *Dervishler*, and *Dervislar*, — Hottinger and his authorities are responsible.

‡ “ Utrum vota, et eleemosynæ, et oblationes communis populi, jure debeantur *ipsis Sacerdotibus*, vel *ipsis Religiosis*.” Ib.

secular influence, which, within their respective communities, they exercise in temporal affairs.

The direct and indirect interference of the clergy in civil affairs, with their usurpation of an absolute control over both the sovereign and the people, first consolidated the power of the Popes, and formed the basis of that vast ecclesiastico-political tyranny, which the church of Rome eventually erected in Europe. From the days of the Hildebrands and Innocents, to the age of the Reformation, the momentous questions of peace and war hung dependent, not on the will of princes, or the wisdom of senators, but on the decrees of councils, and the bulls of Popes.

What the Romish ecclesiastical polity was, in this aspect, down to the middle of the sixteenth century, and what it probably still would be, but for the Reformation, the Mahometan has continued, without check or change, from the rise of the Saracen, to the decline of the Ottoman empire. It is a noted fact, that, in civil affairs generally, but especially in all questions of peace and war, the despotism even of the Turkish Sultans is subjected to the control of the Mussulman priesthood; and that, in great emergencies, the deliberations of the Divan are always regulated by the council of the Ulemahs.

Such is the close parallel between Popery and

Mahometanism, in the secular influence of the priesthood, as exhibited in Turkey: and as it is in Turkey, so it is in Persia, and other Mahometan states.

Lastly, The character of that inveterate and sanguinary warfare between the Papal and Mahometan tyrannies, the spirit of which still outlives the vicissitudes of ten centuries*, combines with their contemporaneous rise, progress, and decay, and with all the heads of the general analogy specified in these pages, to mark the prophetic relation of the two powers, as, indeed, the great heads of that Antichrist foretold by Christ and his Apostles, and vividly foreshown in the Scriptures of both Testaments.† If, in the earlier ages of Mahometanism, in obedience to the precepts of the Koran, the successors of Mahomet carried a war of religion and persecution into the heart of France and Italy, — in the era of the crusades, the self-named successors of Saint Peter, in the genuine spirit of Mahometanism, exchanging the sword of the Spirit for the arm of flesh, bore the terrors of war and persecution into the midst of Mahometan Asia. To the warlike fanaticism of the armed apostles of

* Computing from the invasion of France by the Saracens, in the ninth century; that is, from the date of their earliest collision with Catholic Europe.

† See especially sect. iii.

Islamism, was now every where opposed the kindred fanaticism of a military priesthood, arrayed under the banners of papal Rome.* And the common spirit of the hostile superstitions is hardly more legible in the annals of the crusades themselves, than in the history of those bloody wars between the Turks and Franks, by which the crusades were succeeded. Nor is it the least remarkable feature of coincidence in this rivalry of persecution, that, while, in more modern times, the atrocities of the piratical states of Barbary have served to keep alive the character of the antichristian conflict of Mahometanism with Popery on the shores of the Mediterranean, — the cruelties of the Portuguese in the East, and the dreadful enormities of the inquisition of Goa, have registered, in notes of blood and fire, along the coasts of India, the character of the no less antichristian controversy, maintained, by the authority of the church of Rome, against the Mahometan world.

But the developement of these, and other particulars of this parallel, must be reserved for the ensuing examination of the crusades, and their consequences; where they will find their natural and proper place.

* The motives, however, of many among the crusaders, and the providential uses of the crusades, must not be lost sight of. See sections xi, xii, xiii.

SECTION XI.

THE CRUSADES.

THE causes and effects of the crusades form one of the most interesting topics of modern history.* The subject has, accordingly, engaged the attention, and exercised the minds, of our most eminent historical writers. But, whatever may be the connection of this important question with the history of modern Europe, its investigation must enter essentially into the plan of the present work; where the object proposed is a comparison of Christianity and Mahometanism, in all the analogies which exist between the two religious polities. Among the heads of this comparison, the holy wars occupy a foremost place: 1. on account of the international relations, and the universal collisions, which, for the

* For much new and valuable light, we owe a debt of thanks to the French Institute: the impulse given by its liberal encouragement of more full inquiry into the character and consequences of the holy wars, has produced the desired fruits: the essays of M.M. Heeren, and De Choiseul D'Aillecourt, "*Sur l'Influence des Croisades*," will be perused with interest by every reader, who would enlarge his view of the philosophy of history, or take a fresh lesson out of this important chapter of the book of providence.

space of two centuries, these expeditions occasioned between the Christian and the Mahometan world* ; and 2. because the crusades prosecuted by western Christendom against the Mahometan powers, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century inclusive, were, properly speaking, but the reaction of that religious warfare, which, in the seventh century, Mahometanism had set on foot, with no less a purpose than the utter subversion of Christianity.¹

In re-opening this great field of inquiry, it will be our first duty, briefly to examine the previous state of the question. By the founders of the historical school, which sprang up in Great Britain during the eighteenth century, and which has deservedly established its reputation throughout Europe, views of the Christian expeditions to Palestine, of their causes, of their general character, and of their final results, have been taken, which, whether justly or unjustly, strip those stupendous movements, both of all true historical dignity, and of all direct political utility or importance. Brute force, impelled by blind fanaticism, or by pious fraud, may be said

* M. Oelsner traces the rise of European chivalry, to *ante-Mahometan* Arabia: Mahometanism first gave the spirit of chivalry its religious character, and communicated it by contact to the Christian nations of Europe. *Effets de la Relig. de Moham.* p. 177.

to comprize the account, which two eminent writers of the last age have given of their origin; and, according to the same high authorities, unmitigated evil would appear to have been their immediate, and almost their only direct result.*

In his preliminary view of the state of Europe, the celebrated author of the History of Charles V. professes to discuss the subject of the crusades. But, while willing largely to acknowledge their indirect operation upon the European system, Doctor Robertson has not scrupled to characterize these holy wars, in their origin and direct influences, as “wild expeditions, the effect of superstition or folly;” and, with still greater freedom of expression, he has further ventured to pronounce “the only common enterprize in which the European nations ever engaged, and which they all undertook with equal ardour, — a singular monument of human folly.”

We may regret to see the dignity of history degraded, by the license of such unmeasured language; language suited, indeed, only to the meridian of minds, which have learnt to con-

* “The principle of the crusades was a savage fanaticism; and the most important effects were analogous to the cause.” *Decline and Fall*, vol. xi. p. 291.

found assertion with argument, and to measure the soundness of opinions, by the boldness with which they are advanced. But when an historian, bearing the character of a Christian minister, esteemed it not unbecoming to stigmatize the armies of the cross, with reference to their immediate operation, as a singular monument of human folly, he should have been at least equally careful to proclaim those expeditions, with relation to their acknowledged permanent effects, a signal monument of the divine wisdom.

With so depreciated an estimate of the rise of the crusades, it was only natural that Doctor Robertson should have shunned to investigate the question of their *policy* ; motives of political wisdom it were worse than idle to inquire after, in projects conceived, and planned, and executed, in folly. But, however blind to the policy of the original design, the historian enters copiously into the beneficial influences of the crusades, upon every branch of the European system : admissions which might have induced some specific recognition of their *providential* purpose ; since, in this aspect, causes may as certainly be appreciated from their consequences, as the nature of the tree is known by the quality of its fruits.

To advert for a moment to subsequent inquirers, it is worthy of all consideration, that, what.

ever differences of opinion have prevailed on the subject, thus much seems now to be universally conceded, that the age of improvement in modern Europe commenced with the era of the holy wars ; and that, in all its leading branches, the progress of European civilization may be traced to the influences of these chivalrous expeditions. According to the biographer of Charles V. their beneficial influences are legible, in the important particulars which follow : — the introduction of a general change in government and manners, and in the state of property and of commerce ; the foundation of free cities ; the increase of industry ; the erection of representative orders in the state ; the forfeiture, by sale or casualties, of the great feudal tenures ; the enfranchisement of the serfs, and the consequent amelioration of the social system ; the introduction of a more regular, equal, and vigorous administration of justice ; the study of the Roman law, and the consequent division of professions : — these, with several other advances and emendations, form the outline of that great and growing improvement in the state of Europe, which Doctor Robertson deduces from the latter end of the eleventh century, and ascribes to the indirect agency of the crusades. Nor does he restrict within these wide limits our debt of gratitude :

for, to the agency of these holy wars, which imported in their train, amidst the superincumbent chaff of superstition and of unsound doctrines, the precious seeds of a future intellectual harvest, he, in fine, admits our obligation, for “the first gleams of light, which tended to dispel barbarism and ignorance.”²

These prospective consequences of the crusades, it will on all sides be readily granted, can in no sense be regarded as results of *man's* foresight or wisdom. But the admission that few, if any of them, were antecedently contemplated, implies, it will be recollected, on the other hand, no impeachment of the penetration or political sagacity of the first movers of the warfare with Mahometanism, in the centre of its eastern strongholds. The total inadequacy of mere human foresight to anticipate the indirect results, certainly takes the matter out of the hands of man; but it does so, only to bring more fully and clearly into light, the guiding and controlling sway of a superintending Providence: of a Providence so ordering events, at a period the most critical in the annals of Christianity, as, at the same time, to consult for the present safety of the church of Christ, and to make provision for its future improvement within, and for its eventual extension to the remotest corners of the earth.

That the latter consequences were wholly unforeseen, should therefore present no stumbling-block to the Christian historian : to his eye, on the contrary, the crusades ought, in this respect, to appear the more eminently a providential movement, because their greatest resulting benefits will be found to have been the most indirect.

At the same time, it would argue little soundness of historical judgment, to deny that *any* of the effects enumerated by Doctor Robertson, were anticipated by the leading contrivers of the wars of Palestine : some of the more immediate effects, assuredly, could not have escaped men of far inferior discernment : for example, the diminution of the feudal authority of the nobles, and the corresponding enlargement of the prerogatives of the crown ; and, again, the depression of the temporal power of the European princes, and the consequent elevation both of the temporal and of the spiritual authority of the popes : these, and similar first-fruits of the holy wars, can hardly be conceived to have passed unforeseen and unheeded, by those, who were, at once, the chief engines by which Europe was put in motion, and the parties directly interested in these proximate effects of their labours.³

But the notion, that, in their original confederation, the crusades were wholly devoid of po-

litical object or design, stands effectually refuted by the history of the period, and by the statements and reasonings actually employed by their first projectors. “The political necessity of resisting the progressive conquests of the Mahometans” was, according to the testimony of Doctor Robertson himself, *the first* of the four principles, on which, in the primitive attempt to rouse Christendom to arms, the pope, and the hermit Peter, founded their appeal. At the Council of Placentia, again, the ambassadors of the Greek emperor publicly represented the instant and urgent policy of the first crusade; and warned the assembled chieftains (I use the words of Mr. Gibbon) “to repel the barbarians on the confines of Asia, rather than to expect them in the heart of Europe.” In his celebrated speech at the Council of Clermont, Pope Urban II. followed up this timely admonition: with all the foresight of a veteran politician, the Roman pontiff set forth, in its just light, the ruin which impended over western Christendom: in the course of his address, “which Malmsbury details as he heard it from those present at its delivery, Urban reminded the assembled people, That the Turks were occupying Syria, Armenia, and all Asia Minor, and were overrunning Illyricum: that they and the Saracens also held

Africa, Spain, and the Balearic Islands, and were devouring, in expectation, the rest of Europe. He exhorts his hearers to undertake the expedition, that at least in these regions the Christians might live at peace.” *

In terms thus explicit, intelligible, and cogent, was the policy of the holy wars explained and enforced by their original propounders, in the face of congregated Europe. But the political motives, which were publicly insisted on, at Placentia, by the Greek envoys, and which were as publicly inculcated at Clermont, by the head of the western church, could not assuredly fail to be repeated in those exhortations, which Pope Urban enjoined the prelates and the clergy to make, through every diocese and district of Christendom.† So far, therefore, from its being the offspring solely of a blind fanaticism, it appears, on the most unquestionable evidence, that the political expediency of the first crusade was a subject familiarized, not only to the princes and nobles, but, even to the rude commons, throughout the west.

Yet, in the face of this contemporary evidence,

* Turner.

† The Itinerary of Giraldus Cambrensis, the companion of Abp. Baldwin on his laborious pilgrimage through England and Wales, may serve as an index to the zeal and energy with which the call of the popes was obeyed by the Latin hierarchy.

Doctor Robertson undertakes to treat the origin of the holy wars, as a mere ebullition of superstition and folly; and, by his silence as to their policy, seems unequivocally to reject the existence of political motives altogether. Mr. Gibbon, on the other hand, recognizes the public statements made by Pope Urban and others, in elucidation of their policy; but he does so, only to depreciate that policy, and wholly to explain away its expediency or use. *⁴

While the author of the life of Charles V. cannot perceive the political bearings, the historian of the Roman empire pronounces himself unable to discern the beneficial consequences, of the Christian expeditions to Palestine: the former writer, we have seen, characterizes them contemptuously as a monument of human folly; the latter has advanced the monstrous paradox, that the holy wars “have checked, rather than forwarded, the maturity of Europe!”

In the fifty-eighth chapter of the *Decline and Fall*, Mr. Gibbon has discussed the subject of the crusades, in its two principal aspects:

* Happily for Europe and the world, the authors of the first crusade were far better politicians than either Dr. Robertson or Mr. Gibbon. The author will venture to affirm, that, with the merits of the question fairly before him, no practical statesman of the present day would exchange the policy of Pope Urban, for the politico-philosophical theories of either historian.

1. their primitive design and value, in a political point of view ; and 2. the amount and importance of their general results. By following briefly the steps of the historian's argument, the opportunity may arise of inquiring, how far, in his treatment of the first proposition, he is consistent with himself ; and how far, in his management of the second, he is borne out by the evidence of facts, — of the ascertained course of events, which ushered in the improvement of modern Europe.

1. In his estimate of the political expediency of the first crusade, with reference to the grounds on which it was recommended by the original promoters, the historian sets out with the important admission, that, in the eleventh century, western Christendom, in common with all “the unbelieving nations,” laboured under “*a real and urgent apprehension*” of the loss of religion and liberty, by the victorious arms of the Turks ; before whose threatened and impending assault, “the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction.” As the natural and necessary consequence of this state of things, he further acknowledges the right and interest of the Latin powers “in the support of Constantinople, the most important barrier of the west ;” and the legitimate privilege of defensive warfare, to an-

ticipate by an invasion the designs of an encroaching enemy.* These just and obvious concessions, however, would appear to have been made, merely for the purpose of qualifying them by a criticism, which, if well founded, deprives the crusades of their best vindication, as expeditions undertaken for *the defence of western Christendom*†; and, in fact, takes away from them all claim to a political character or importance:—

“ This salutary purpose might have been accomplished by a moderate succour; and our calmer reason must disclaim the innumerable hosts and remote operations, which overwhelmed Asia, and depopulated Europe.”

* The comprehensive object of the first crusade rests not on theoretical inferences; it is established by the evidence of contemporary authorities: thus Ekkehard represents Europe to have been called to arms, — “ *frequentibus nuntiis super oppressionem Dominici Sepulchri; ac desolatione omnium orientalium ecclesiarum.*” The inference which has been so justly drawn by Mr. Sharon Turner, does not appear to have escaped the discernment of the Latin leaders, — that, if Asia were once finally swallowed up, Europe could no longer be safe: “ From the time that Mahomedanism established itself in Asia, it was *obvious* that it would never cease to struggle for *the empire of the world*, while its spirit was upheld by its power.” Hist. of Eng. during Mid. Ages, vol. i. p. 302. This very profound writer has reflected fresh light on the danger of western Christendom, at the epoch of the crusades, by the masterly contrast which he has drawn, between the desultory assaults of the Saracens, and the concentrated energies of Turkish fanaticism. See pp. 303—307.

† This motive was explicitly alleged by the promoters of the first expedition: “ *Occidentalis populi dolentis loca sancta Ierosolymis a gentilibus prophanari, et Turcos etiam terminos Christianorum jam multa ex parte invassisse, &c.*” Brev. Narrat. ap. Martene et Durand, t. v. p. 536, 537.

A moderate succour! Can the historian have forgotten ere the ink was dry, what he had but the moment before stated, — that, at the epoch of the first crusade, “the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction?” Can he have paused to reflect, that, at the fearful crisis of which he writes, a holy war had been already proclaimed, by the Turkish powers, against universal Christendom? * That Asia Minor was covered with their armies, to the very shores of the Hellespont? † That Constantinople herself; from the first to the last, the victim marked out by these fierce destroyers, must, in all human probability, have become their prey in the eleventh century, but for their deficiency in shipping? ‡

A moderate succour! Surely even a child in politics might undertake to calculate the utmost advantage to be anticipated from such an aid: it might, indeed, have postponed the downfall of the Greek empire for one moment; but only in order

* This sacred war was proclaimed by express command of the caliph. See Decl. and Fall, vol. x. p. 370. The connection between the Saracenic and the Turkish desolation, indicated Rev. ix., seems most accurately realized in this fact: the grand inroad of the Turks, under the four Seljukian princes, i. e. the loosing of the four angels which were bound in the Euphrates, took place, it hence appears, by a mandate from the head of the Mahometan faith. Compare Turner, Hist. Eng. M. A. vol. i. p. 314, 315.

† Gibbon, vol. x. p. 373, 374. Turner, vol. i. pp. 309—311.

‡ Gibbon, vol. x. p. 376.

to its being more ruinously effected in the next. Again, in the then disunited and distracted state of Europe, where, it will naturally be asked, was the guarantee, that this moderate succour should be also a *permanent succour*? A *constant* succession of *partial* reinforcements is supposed on the face of Mr. Gibbon's substitute for the crusades *: but, in that untutored age, such a succession was wholly unattainable; and, although attainable, must have proved unavailable in the end. The battle of Dorylæum, where two hundred thousand Turkish horsemen encompassed, and had nearly crushed, the flower of the European chivalry, headed by the heroic Godfrey of Bouillon, might alone have taught its eloquent recorder, what the whole events of the crusades unite to demonstrate, that nothing short of an overwhelming weight of resistance could have held in check the tremendous Turkish inundation.† The maxim of natural philosophy, that

* The generalship of the Roman historian savours much more of the captain of militia, than either of the great commander, or the grave politician. See Mr. G.'s captivating "*Memoirs of my Life and Writings*," for the very amusing account of his proficiency, under the command of Colonel Sir Richard Worsley, in the study of the art of war.

† Compare Turner, vol. i. p. 314. The providential character of the infliction, was felt and acknowledged at the time: a contemporary Latin chronicler depicts, among other horrors of the Turkish invasion, the ruined churches, and *the mutilated images of our Saviour, the Virgin, and the Saints*, as so many visible signs of the just judgments of God! Conf. Martene et Durand, tom. v. f. 515.

action and re-action are equal and contrary, has also its historical application : the force required to drive back those barbarians of Islamism, is the exact measure of the impulse, with which, but for the Latin chivalry, they would have burst upon the Greek capital, and over the eastern frontier of Europe : but, in the eleventh century, perhaps at any period prior to the fifteenth, the barrier of the Hellespont once forced, Europe, disorganized and incapable of a united effort, must have been quickly swallowed up.*

From the plan of operations for the defence of Christendom against the Turks, with which Mr. Gibbon has ingeniously amused himself and his readers, we may now return to his narrative of facts : the best touchstone, after all, of a historian's consistency and judgment. What then, were, on his own showing, the results actually effected by the irresistible shock of the first crusade?† The Turks, it appears, were not merely checked for the moment, and driven from before the walls of Constantinople : they were broken, and beaten back step by step, in a succession of

* See Turner, vol. i. pp. 311—313.

† “The first efforts of valour, animated by enthusiasm, were irresistible ; part of the Lesser Asia, all Syria and Palestine, were wrested from the infidels ; the banner of the cross was displayed on Mount Sion.” Hist. Charles V. vol. i. p. 29.

encounters, through Syria*, to the term of their prophetic boundary beyond the Euphrates†: their fortified cities and fastnesses in the Lesser Asia, including the capitals of Nice and Antioch, were successively taken, and permanently occupied, by the Christian powers: from the barrier of the Hellespont, guarded only by the feeble and effeminate Greeks, the frontier of Christendom was advanced once more to the line of the Euphrates; where the Latin principalities of Antioch and Edessa opposed, the latter, for the space of above half a century, the former, for more than one hundred and seventy years, a successful resistance to the utmost efforts of the Turks.

But these pregnant and permanent results formed a part only of the great political consequences, which emanated immediately from the first holy war. While the crash of the Latin whirlwind swept onward into Mesopotamia‡, the wily Alexius, following in its train, recovered and re-occupied the neighbouring cities and pro-

* “The four cities of Hems, Hamah, Damascus, and Aleppo, were the only relics of the Mahometan conquests in Syria.” Decl. and Fall, vol. xi. p. 90.

† Rev. ix. 14. compare sect. iii.

‡ “All Europe, torne up from the foundation, seemed ready to precipitate itself in one united body upon Asia.” Anna Comnena, ap. Robertson, Hist. Charles V. vol. i. pp. 28, 29.

vinces of Asia Minor* ; cities and provinces, which, torn from the Greek empire, had become the nucleus of the growing empire of the Turks : according to the accurate statements of Mr. Gibbon, Nice, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, together with the islands of Rhodes and Chios (the keys of the Archipelago), were re-annexed to the empire of the Greeks ; “ which Alexius enlarged, from the Hellespont, to the banks of the Meander, and the rocky shores of Pamphylia.”—“ The churches resumed their splendour, the towns were restored and *fortified*, and the desert country was peopled with colonies of Christians.” Raised once more from a name to a reality, the eastern empire still continued to gain strength, and territory, with the progress of the holy wars. On the death of Bohemond, the first Latin prince of Antioch, “ the cities of Tarsus and Malmistra were restored to the Byzantine emperors. Of the coast of Anatolia, they possessed the entire circuit from Trebizond to the Syrian gates. The Seljukian dynasty of Roum was separated on all sides *from the sea, and their Mussulman brethren* ; the power of the Sultans was shaken by the vic-

* “ His dexterity and vigilance secured their first conquest of Nice ; and *from this threatening station*, the Turks were compelled to evacuate the neighbourhood of Constantinople.” Decl. and Fall, vol. xi. p. 101.

tories, and even the defeats, of the Franks ; and, after the loss of Nice, they removed their throne to Cogni or Iconium, *an obscure and inland town, above three hundred miles from Constantinople. Instead of trembling for their capital, the Comenian princes waged an offensive war against the Turks, AND THE FIRST CRUSADE PREVENTED THE FALL OF THE DECLINING EMPIRE.*" *

In other words, over and above the formidable obstacles to Turkish aggression interposed by the erection of three Latin kingdoms in the East, — by Mr. Gibbon's own representation of

* Mr. Gibbon admits the important fact, that, by the timely interposition of the first crusade, Constantinople, the last barrier of the west, was saved from the grasp of the Turks ; and Europe, consequently, from the peril, in the eleventh century, of a Turkish invasion. Mr. Turner, with a far more comprehensive view, has drawn attention, not merely to the fact itself, but to the extraordinary concurrence of the remedy with the evil : — " That a Turkish crusade was about to assault the eastern frontier of Europe, when the Christian crusade commenced, *has not been sufficiently remarked.* But that, for its effective counteraction, so ardent and so immediate a union of mind, among a body so disjointed and discordant as the kings of Europe, for an object so remote and difficult, and then so little affecting their personal interests, SHOULD YET ARISE AT THE PRECISE PERIOD WHICH WAS MOST IMPORTANT TO CHRISTIANITY, was a concurrence of *an evil, and its remedy*, which must arrest the attention, and excite the meditation, of the impartial philosopher." Hist. Eng. M.A. vol. i. p. 314, 315.

Let the views taken by the two historians be candidly compared ; and it will be seen, whether the sceptic, or the Christian, makes the truer political philosopher. Coincidences of this nature, which must for ever baffle and confound the speculations of scepticism, are among the phenomena of history which most triumphantly declare and vindicate the agency of a providence in the affairs of men.

facts, it further appears, that, from a state of actual dismemberment, and approaching dissolution, the Greek empire itself was, through the political operation of the first, and of the following crusades, reinstated in a posture of defence, and restored to the undisturbed possession of an extent of territory, which enabled its sovereigns, after the final passing away of the Latin power, to maintain the outwork of the Hellespont, and protract the fall of Constantinople, till the fatal year fourteen hundred and fifty-two. The political value of this respite has been long felt and acknowledged: as Europe was situated in the eleventh and two succeeding centuries, human means could have availed her nothing, had Constantinople and the Hellespont been overpast; as Europe was constituted in the fifteenth century, the event has shown, she had nothing to fear even from the arms of Mahomet II.*

* In another place of this work (Vol. I. p. 200.), we have stated the undeviating aim of the Turkish power, from its earliest beginnings, to effect the *destruction* of the Greek empire, and the capture of Constantinople. For the inference there drawn from general evidence, the author has since found specific confirmation, from a *native authority*; the life of the celebrated Saladin, by his friend and minister, Bohadin Ebn Sjeddad. In this contemporaneous history, the final aim of the Turkish conquests, at so early a period as the close of the twelfth century, is most distinctly avowed; speaking of an epistle addressed to Saladin, by the Greek emperor Isaac Comnenus, Bohadin heads the chapter with the following

It is clear, therefore, that, in the judgment which he has pronounced on the original policy of the crusades, Mr. Gibbon has not been perfectly consistent with himself: on the contrary, however mingled with inferior motives, the provident sagacity of the popes, and of the European princes, in assembling means equal to the emergency of the crisis, and in providing for self-defence by a grand and successful plan of offensive warfare, stands triumphantly vindicated, by the historian's own statements in one chapter of his work, from the aspersions which he has thought proper to cast upon it in another. And, whatever may be the result of inquiry into the more general effects resulting from those holy wars, we may at least fearlessly affirm their prospective *policy*, as measures necessary, and effectual, for the defence of Christendom.

2. But the vindication of the sound policy of these expeditions, is one important step gained

emphatic words, — converting the ordinary title, into a solemn prayer, for the deliverance of Constantinople into the hands of the Mussulmans : —

ذكر كتاب وصل من قسطنطينية
يسر الله فتحها

The account of a letter brought from Constantinople.

May God smooth the way to its overthrow !

Vita Saladini, cap. lxxv. p. 129.

towards the establishment of their ulterior beneficial consequences : since security and independence are essential preliminaries to the improvement and prosperity of nations. On this question, however, we are again at issue with the author of the *Decline and Fall*, who has recorded it as his opinion, that the holy wars “have checked rather than forwarded the maturity of Europe.” In support of so bold a judgment, the historian of the empire has next indulged himself in a pleasing vision, of the already incipient progress and prosperity of the West ; of the more profitable employment, in the improvement of their native soil, of the lives and labours of millions which were idly buried in the East ; of the natural overflow, through the channels of trade and navigation, of the accumulated stock of European wealth and industry ; and of the redundant measure in which “the Latins would have been enriched and enlightened by a pure and friendly correspondence with the climates of the East.” The dream is altogether a very pleasing one ; so pleasing, that we cannot but feel sorry it should be abruptly interrupted : the stern voice of reality, however, here breaks in upon the historian’s slumber, to awaken him amidst the discordant clangours of the Turkish attabals and cymbals ! While Mr. Gibbon thus

ingeniously gives play to his fancy, and addresses himself, not to the reason, but to the imagination of his readers, — with ideal prospects of *what Europe might have become*, but for the crusades ; we may venture to propose a still more pressing subject of inquiry, namely, *What would have become of Christian Europe*, but for the crusades ? The inquiry has been already answered : by every species of evidence it has appeared, that the crusades supplied the only sufficient means to save western, from sharing the fate of eastern, Christendom ; to prevent Mahometanism, in the hands of the ignorant and brutal Turks, from barbarizing the world.

From Mr. Gibbon's *assertion* of the negative, or even hurtful, operation of the holy wars, upon the growing maturity of Europe, we will pass, in the next place, to the examination of his *proofs* : for no slight body of proof, assuredly, are we entitled to demand at the hands of the writer, who shall undertake to show, that the authors of the crusades can, in no sense, be justly numbered among the benefactors of modern Europe ; and that these expeditions had absolutely no material share in that general improvement of the European nations, whose greatest increase, and most rapid advances, yet so strangely

coincided with the period, and agency in the world, of the holy wars.*

Now the only ground of proof on which our author founds himself, lies in the fact of the *prior* existence and operation, within the European system, of the seeds and elements of civilization : “ About the eleventh century, the tide of civilization which had so long ebbed, began to flow with a steady and accelerated course ; and a fairer prospect was opened to the hopes and efforts of the rising generation.”

I cheerfully accept this statement of an historical fact, which is no less important and interesting, than it is undoubted ; not indeed as either proving, or disproving, the influence of the crusades, but because the fact alleged opens our way to still larger and more comprehensive conclusions.

In this particular field of inquiry, Mr. Gibbon apparently takes credit to himself, for having advanced his researches so far beyond his predecessors : our cause of complaint against him, however, is, not that he has gone so far, but that he has not gone further : for what, we may now ask, was the origin of the whole infant improvement, which preceded the era of the wars in

* “ Great was the increase, and rapid the progress, during the two hundred years of the crusades.” Decl. and Fall, vol. xi. p. 292.

Palestine? By an irrefragable mass of evidence it can be *demonstrated*, that the nations of Christian Europe owed those first glimmerings of light, — “dawnings of beams, and promises of day,” — to *the Saracens of Spain** : it was, as we have already intimated†, and shall hereafter more fully show, by their intercourse with the Spanish Saracens, that the master-spirits of the middle ages caught those sparks of science, which were one day to kindle into flame; it was through the same channel, that, by adventurers of another class, arts, commerce, and manufactures, began gradually to be introduced: the result, therefore, of the sceptical historian’s *discovery* of an incipient growth of European civilization, preceding the age of the crusades, when these beginnings are traced to their unquestionable source, leads the Christian inquirer only a step further in the elucidation of the wonderful arrangements of Divine Providence, for the fulfilment of the sure word and promises of HIM, “which keepeth covenant to a thousand generations.” For here, the prophetic struggle between Isaac and Ishmael, the grand providential action and reaction of Christianity and Mahometanism, is once more brought to a point: the original holy wars of the Saracens first im-

* See sections xii. xiii.

† Introduction.

ported into the European system, those seminal principles of national advancement and civilization, which were eventually unfolded and perfected by the Christian crusades.

“Some philosophers,” the Roman historian sarcastically remarks, “have applauded the propitious influence of these holy wars :” — we shall hereafter investigate the ample vouchers which establish the soundness of the opinion : but, in now re-asserting it, the present writer has the satisfaction to state, that this view of the subject seems, in the nineteenth century, to be confirmed by the results of philosophical inquiry throughout Europe.

Both on the question of the original policy of the crusades, and on that of their general consequences, a revulsion has at length taken place : and the opinions of Doctor Robertson on the former subject, and of Mr. Gibbon on both, appear, in the present day, to have fallen into merited disrepute. Upon the question of *consequences*, in particular, not only Christian, but even sceptical inquirers*, have contributed to expose the crude speculations of the historian of the Roman empire, by opening the eyes of the reflecting portion of society, to a full view of

* In this class, the author is obliged to place the learned Oelsner ; who too often uses the language of a *Philosophe*, and pupil of the Revolution.

the undeniable facts, connected with the history of the holy wars.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, France had no sooner recovered the first shock of the revolution, than she set the example of renewed and enlarged inquiry into the history and institutions of the European polity ; but especially into the effects, on the formation of that polity, of two great movements, the reformation, and the crusades. The example thus shown by France, England has since emulously, and still more effectually, followed.

On the subject of the crusades, the result of inquiry has been the same in both countries : their political philosophers are agreed in the admission, that the Christian expeditions to Palestine have been doubly instrumental to the civil and intellectual advancement of Christendom : 1. by their ascertained action upon the internal state of Europe ; and, 2. by their well-timed operation in checking, during a momentous crisis of more than three centuries, the military career of the Turks, — while, during this respite from Turkish invasion, they introduced at home, in the arts of peace, the best sinews of war, — the commerce, science, and civilization, then so prosperous in the Mahometan world.

Having adverted thus far to more recent re-

searches into the influence of the holy wars, we may, for the present, rest satisfied with a general statement of their result : it will be the object of the two following sections to verify this statement, by a circumstantial comparison of Christianity and Mahometanism, in their whole civil and mental influences on mankind.

In the judgment, therefore, which Mr. Gibbon has pronounced upon *the consequences* of the holy wars, as connected, or rather as unconnected, with the improvement of Europe, this distinguished writer has not been more fortunate, than in his low estimate of their political character : — a character alike important to the statesman and the soldier : — as military operations upon a vast scale ; suited to the prevailing notions and spirit of the times ; put in motion to meet an unparalleled emergency ; and at once competent, and essential, to *the permanent defence of the West*.

It were injustice, however, to lay to the charge of this author, a total denial of “ the propitious influence of the crusades : ” *one class of direct consequences*, he has acknowledged as their legitimate offspring ; although, with short-sighted perspicacity, it is acknowledged only to be deplored ; — consequences, for which, at least all *Protestant* churches and states of Europe will gladly and gratefully confess their obligation ; namely, that salutary mass of abuses, which, by

bringing to its height the antichristian tyranny of Rome, prepared the way for the rise and progress of the reformation : — “ The belief of the catholics,” says Mr. Gibbon, “ was corrupted by new legends, their practice by new superstitions ; and *the establishment of the inquisition, the mendicant orders of monks and friars, the last abuse of indulgences, and the final progress of idolatry,* flowed from the baleful fountain of the holy wars.” For, while a comfortless scepticism can discern only evils, without reference to the compensatory good of which they are so often productive, the Christian philosopher will carry his eye beyond those waters of bitterness, to the purified and healing streams which have risen from them ; and will see and own the weakness and wickedness of man, only the more fully to perceive, and the more humbly to adore, the unsearchable wisdom, and the almighty power, of God.

A short review of the policy and effects of the crusades was, in the first instance, required, in order to clear them from the unfounded imputations, which Doctor Robertson and Mr. Gibbon had united in attaching to them. But the inquiry thus far instituted, belongs also immediately to our general subject : since, from the providential character of the holy wars, the transition is direct, to the grand providential

connection between Christianity and Mahometanism.

It has been already stated, that the Christian expeditions into Asia were only the natural and needful reaction of the primitive irruption of the Saracens into Europe; the propagation of religion by the sword, on the one side, suggesting, eventually, the defence of religion and freedom with the sword, on the other. And, whatever condemnation attaches to the principle, thus much is certain, that to Mahometanism, and *not* to Christianity, belongs the merit of its first application.

But, in both religious warfares, we trace several of those marks, which are usually found to attend and characterize occurrences eminently providential: — the singular concurrence of each of these extraordinary movements, with the circumstances and exigencies of the times in which they successively took place; the mutual counteraction afforded by their geographical positions, and the nicely-balanced opposition of the East to the West; the common rise of the rival sacred wars, from the eastern and the western heads of antichrist; their parallel origin in ages of ignorance and barbarity, and their parallel issue in the production of ages of light and civilization; — these, with sundry similar characteristics,

unite to link together the wars of the cross and of the crescent, as events providentially permitted and adjusted, at once for the punishment, and for the improvement of mankind : for punishment, as immediate chastisements of heretical pravity, and of moral corruption ; for improvement, by the intercourse which they respectively opened, and the communications which, through so many centuries, they reciprocally maintained, between the most diverse nations, and most remote quarters of the earth.

Thus, following the progress of these great events, contemplated as parts of the great providential administration of the world, we ascend, in the natural order of things, from the Saracenic and Latin holy wars, to Christianity and Mahometanism, the two religious systems from whose collision they arose ; from Christianity and Mahometanism, again, to their respective sources, the descendants of Isaac and Ishmael, — and to the prophetic opposition between these brethren ; and from Isaac and Ishmael, lastly, to the original two-fold covenant of God, with Abraham his servant.

But the providential connection between the first Mahometan sacred wars, and the crusades, which seems apparent on a general view of the two great events, can be verified more fully by

an appeal to the history of the whole period. For, while modern Europe is confessedly indebted to her holy wars, for the general diffusion of science and civilization, the crusades themselves not only owed their origin to the primitive Saracenic irruption, but also their whole beneficial consequences, to the previously existing Saracenic lights. In other words, Mahometanism, through the Saracens, replanted in the world those seeds of knowledge, and elements of civilization, which Christianity, through the instrumentality of the crusades, brought to their full maturity and perfection.

Now, when those prime causes of the regeneration of Europe, thus indissolubly associated in the history of their effects, can be traced, for their common origin, to the one scriptural source, there would appear to be nothing deficient in the proof which we proposed to deduce, of their *designed* providential connection. History will here take her proper place, as the handmaid of prophecy, while she enables us to connect the progress of civil society, and the advancement of the human mind, in every age and country, with the blessing pronounced on Abraham and his descendants; through whom, in the progressive action and reaction of the grand prophetic conflict between the families of Isaac

and Ishmael, the flame of science was thus twice rekindled by the torch of war.

It is the just and original remark of an able writer of the present day, that the crusades are “a phenomenon perfectly analogous to the early history of the Saracens :”^{*}—the analogy is probably more close and extensive, than may have been contemplated by the author of this observation[†]; but its merit, as an incidental reach of historical sagacity, will be enhanced by our purposed examination of the chain of related circumstances and events, which bind together the two movements, as a leading branch of the parallel between the religious polities from which they sprung.

The rise of the sacred wars of the Saracens is matter of easy explanation; for Mahometanism, from its earliest date, was announced to the world as a religion of war; and the propagation of the Koran, by the sword, was its favourite and fundamental doctrine. We contemplate, therefore, only the natural course of things, when we find the professors of a warlike creed, acting conformably with its precepts, and aiming

^{*} Turner.

[†] The parallel character of the two movements appears in every stage of their progress, and in different quarters of the world. M. de Marliès incidentally notices this branch of the correspondence between Popery and Mahometanism, as observable in the history of the Spanish Arabs. See *Hist. de la Dom. des Arabes en Espagne*, tom. i. p. 261.

at universal conquest and dominion. The growth of the crusades, on the contrary, demanded and implied a strange and total perversion of Christianity; since they were directly opposed to the laws, and to the spirit, of this divine revelation. For the Gospel was first announced by its heavenly Author, as the religion of peace; and the spirit of peace which characterized its primitive announcement, was the proper instrument for its eventual establishment throughout the world. That Islamism, therefore, should assail Christianity, that the spiritual offspring of Ishmael should lift up the hand against the spiritual posterity of Isaac, was matter only of reasonable anticipation. But, on an antecedent view of the subject, it was beyond all human reckoning, that two creeds, so oppositely constituted, should, nevertheless, in the event, be brought into hostile collision with each other, not merely in their political relations, but as antagonist systems of faith. The religion of the sword, indeed, exercised only its assumed prerogative, in persecuting the religion of peace: but the religion of peace could become, in its turn, the assailant, only through an intermediate process, which should convert it, also, into a religion of the sword.

In the councils, accordingly, of His permissive providence, who alone can make present evil sub-

servient to future good, there was, as events have wonderfully shown, a provision in reserve, to effect this needful transmutation. At the very moment in which the antichristian heresy of Mahomet raised its hydra head in the east, a rival antichristian power, also foretold by prophecy, that of Papal Rome, erected its tyranny in the west. * And while, consonantly with the early maturity of the climate which gave him birth, the eastern antichrist sprang up quickly to the full measure of his stature, — the western, on the other hand, with slow but sure progress, gradually advanced towards the attainment of a settled and confirmed strength, which, when the time of trial came, presented him ready and equal to encounter the deadly hostility of his formidable opponent.

The papal tyranny, which, fortunately at once, and unhappily, for Christendom, thus sprang into contemporary being with that of Mahomet, from the corruptions of the western church, — had, in the course of about five hundred years, effectually converted the peaceful kingdom of Christ Jesus, into a kingdom of the sword. †

Such were the relative postures of Christianity

* Compare sect. ii. iii. x.

† Bishops and abbots, cardinals and popes themselves, appeared in arms in the field.

and Mahometanism, towards the expiration of the eleventh century; an era of history pregnant with new calamity to Christendom, and to the world. At this awful epoch, a fresh race of martial fanatics, the barbarous Turks, had just replaced the Saracens, whose empire they had overthrown, in the command and direction of the united Mussulman powers. In the year of our Lord one thousand and sixty-three, they first passed the Euphrates; and in less than twenty years from their first irruption, they had rendered themselves permanently masters of the Lesser Asia, to the shores opposite Europe and Constantinople. The exhaustless numbers, the constitutional bravery, the brutal ignorance, and the devoted zeal, of these newly-proselyted champions of Islamism, have been drawn, by an historian of our own times, with most just and powerful discrimination.* The national character of the Turks was rendered still more formidable, by the unity of aim, the inflexibility of purpose, and the spirit of implicit obedience, for which it was remarkable: qualities which essentially distinguish those fierce barbarians, from their predecessors the Saracens; and which were now blindly devoted to the one object, the uni-

* Turner, Hist. Eng. M.A.

versal propagation, by force of arms, of their recently-adopted faith.

In the prosecution of this object, Mahmoud, Sultan of Gazna, had, in the tenth century, carried conquest and proselytism among the idolatrous nations of the East, to the heart of the peninsula of India. In the opposite quarter, in the eleventh century, the princes of the house of Seljuk prepared, with emulous zeal, to spread the empire and faith of Mahomet, among the unbelieving nations of the West : “ If the princes of the West,” observes Mr. Turner, “ had not been stimulated to oppose their united forces to this aggression, the same valour and strength, which had conquered Asia Minor, and led the Turks to the Hellespont, would have soon conducted them into the heart of Europe.”

But Europe was providentially prepared for their reception. The rival antichrist of the West, the tyranny of papal Rome, which arose simultaneously with Mahometanism, had, in the eleventh century, attained its height. A tribunal was now erected in the minds of men, to which even the divisions and distractions inseparable from the feudal system became amenable. And a confederacy, which, in that barbarous age, could have been effected neither by the dictates of policy, nor by the instinct of self-preservation,

was, through the mercy of Providence, formed and put in motion by the power of superstition. On the near approach of the Turks, the summons of the Roman pontiffs united Europe in arms against the common enemy; the chivalry of Gaul and Britain, of Italy and Germany, as with one heart and with one hand, fought the great battle of faith and freedom; and the ruin of Christendom was averted by the crusades.

Nor is it only in the critical and successful application of a remedy so extraordinary, to so extraordinary an evil, that we may here discern the special agency of Providence: this agency is equally observable on a comparison of the sacred wars of Christianity and Mahometanism, with reference to the parallel and peculiar exigencies of the periods, which gave birth, in succession, to these alternate movements.

We have elsewhere shown*, that the Saracenic irruption burst forth in an age, in which, both in the East and in the West, the intellectual, no less than the moral and spiritual influences of the Christian religion, seemed irretrievably lost, between the hair-splitting heresies of the Greek, and the barbarous ignorance of the Latin, churches. Just at this point of time, the Saracens, animated by the fervours of a newly-

* Introduction.

kindled fanaticism, were permitted, indeed, to overwhelm eastern Christianity: but, as results have largely proved, they were permitted to do this, only that they might become themselves the benefactors of the whole Christian world, by the office which they eventually discharged, as restorers of the human mind, and as the authors of the first great revival of knowledge.

Now, by an extraordinary reciprocation, the reaction of the crusades fell, in its turn, upon Mahometanism, at a period when its mental influence was also in the act of passing altogether away: for the empire of the Saracens had now finally fallen into the hands of a people, whose brute natures soon effected a triumph over the genius of their adopted religion; and Mahometanism, which, through the instrumentality of its Arabian promulgators, had been a source of almost every kind of civil and social improvement, was destined to degenerate, under the iron rule of the Turks, into a barbarous and brutifying superstition: wherever the Saracens penetrated, they introduced science and civilization; wherever, on the other hand, the Turks have appeared, they have deluged the subject nations with ignorance and barbarity. Who, then, that acknowledges the existence of a Providence, can fail to own and admire the disposal which provided, that, in

the very hour in which the empire of the Mahometan world had passed to these hereditary barbarians, — and not before, — a simultaneous movement of the European nations, the only common enterprize they ever engaged in, should have taken place ; that the unparalleled confederacy of the crusades should have interposed, to prevent the Turks from proselyting and barbarizing the world? It is indeed true, that, like the primitive wars of the Saracens, the wars of the cross were prosecuted under the impulse, and in the spirit, of a blind and untutored fanaticism ; but it is equally certain, that, like the Saracen wars, they also became, chiefly in virtue of the contact which they produced with Mahometan civilization *, the grand instruments of the renovation of Catholic Europe.

From the unity of the ends attained by the Saracenic and Christian sacred wars,† and the proof thence arising of their common provi-

* Even under the Turkish yoke, the Saracen empire long preserved its superior civilization. M. Gibbon seems to have given the true account of this phenomenon : “ In a period when Europe was plunged in the deepest barbarism, the light and splendour of Asia may be ascribed to the *docility*, rather than the *knowledge*, of its Turkish conquerors.” Decl. and Fall, vol. x. p. 367.

† So Mahometan writers entitle all expeditions against Christian powers : M. Condé cites an Arabic history, composed by Abdalla Ali Ebn Abderahman of Granada, “ Sur la Guerre Sainte, c’est-à-dire, *les expéditions contre les Chrétiens*.” See Hist. de la Dom. des Arabes en Espagne, tom. i. p. 22.

dential origin, we return to compare the circumstances which immediately prepared the way for both movements : for, in each instance, the train of preparatory circumstances is as peculiar, as the movements themselves were unprecedented.

The favourable concurrence, in the case of Mahomet, of the time and place of his appearance, the condition of Arabia, and the state of the world, — circumstances which all united to promote the success of his imposture, — has been already fully established *, both by examination of facts, and by the admissions of writers from whose arguments, the author, however reluctantly, has found himself compelled to dissent ; — pursuing a different path, for the attainment of the same end, the defence of our common Christianity.

It remains to be shown, that the posture of affairs, and the union of seemingly fortuitous and unconnected circumstances, which produced the crusades, were equally extraordinary ; and equally favoured the rise and success of these gigantic enterprizes.

In the tenth century of the Christian era, a strange imagination, unaccountably seized upon the minds of men. The misinterpretation of a deeply-mysterious prophecy, casually broached,

* Introduction.

and disseminated over Europe, in that credulous and barbarous age, drew all the European nations into the persuasion, that the end of the world was to synchronize with the year of our Lord one thousand. This notion of the near approach of the millenium, or reign of the saints on earth, thus wildly taken up in the tenth century, peopled Palestine, in the eleventh, with terrified pilgrims from all parts of Europe.* Now, so it fell out, that this unprecedented influx of the Latins, coincided with the first grand irruption of the Turks; whose atrocious cruelties to the Christian pilgrims is universally acknowledged to have been the immediate cause of the first crusade: since, were it not for the general sympathy and indignation, awakened by the discovery and disclosure of their savage enormities, — the Pope, the Greek Emperor, and the urgency of the political crisis, might have pleaded in vain, to the dull apprehension of the then barbarous Latins. Accordingly, Gregory the Seventh, in the plenitude of his power, had failed in the design of arming Europe against Asia; which was accomplished by his far less-gifted successor, Urban the Second, while an anti-pope held possession of the better half of Rome.†

* Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* vol. i. p. 26, 27. Turner, *Hist. Eng. M. A.* vol. i. p. 317, 318.

† Gibbon, ch. lviii.

To the barbarities inflicted upon the Latin pilgrims, by the new masters of Asia and Palestine*, the eyes of indignant Europe were at length opened†, by one of those instruments which Divine Providence delights in raising up, to confound the intrusion of presumptuous man into the administration of God's world. A lowly and obscure individual dropped the spark upon a train, which, in the explosion, to repeat the forcible expression of one who witnessed the effect, "seemed to hurl all Europe, torn up from the foundations, upon Asia."‡ The temper of an anchorite was that best qualified to feel the insult offered to religion, in the persons of its votaries: the spirit of a soldier was that most likely to form the conception of avenging upon their inhuman agents the sufferings of the Christian pilgrims, and repressing the enemies of God and of religion, by the power of the sword.

* Mr. Gibbon admits that the Turkish kingdom of Roum "barred the pilgrimage of Jerusalem." See vol. xi. p. 57.

† Pope Sylvester II. (the learned pupil of the Spanish Saracens) had been the first to call attention to the sufferings of the *Oriental* Christians. but incentives of a more domestic nature were necessary; and the effort expired in the pathetic appeal to which it gave birth. See Turner, ut supr. vol. i. p. 320, 321.

‡ Anna Comnena. The convulsion is described in a similar style of hyperbole, by a Latin ecclesiastic of the time: "*In hujusmodi expeditionem totus fervet, totus concutitur, vel potius transformari videbatur mundus.*" Ekkehard, Abbat. Libellus, ap. Martene et Durand, tom. v. p. 517.

Both characters were united, in the author of the first crusade.

Peter of Amiens, commonly called the hermit, had passed from the service of the Counts of Boulogne, into that of the church, and exchanged the military for the ecclesiastical habit : after the manner of the times, he undertook the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, it is said, in order to expiate some errors of his youth. Gifted with a quick sensibility, with fine natural parts, and with strong and lively impressions of religion, this generous enthusiast seemed formed to sympathize with the distresses of his fellow-sufferers, in the afflicting scenes which were then transacting in Palestine.* But Peter united the force and intelligence of a powerful mind, with the sympathies of a feeling heart : “ He burnt,” says Mr. Turner, “ with indignation at what he saw and heard :” but he heard and saw the greatness of the evil, only to devise a commensurate remedy. “ His own emotions,” observes this truly philosophical historian, “ were evidence that his countrymen would feel as he did ; and the vast

* The abbot Ekkehard paints with indignant pathos the woes of the Christians in the holy land, and the desolation of *all* the eastern churches : — “ *quas gens ferocissima Turcorum, per aliquot annos* (he describes this tyranny in the bud) *suo subactas dominio, inauditis calamitatibus jani-jamque deleverat :*” ap. Martene et Durand, ut supr. p. 514.

conception arose to his mind, of all Europe marching to relieve afflicted Asia."

The claims of the hermit of Amiens to that immortality, which history has conferred upon him as the author of the holy wars, have been variously rated, according to the principles or prejudices of the writers, who have treated of those expeditions. In the eyes of one eminent historian, Peter appears to merit no more appropriate distinction, than the contemptuous appellations of "a fanatical monk," and "a martial apostle*;" in the judgment of another, he is deserving only of the character of "a rustic enthusiast†," a sort of visionary madman; while, in the estimate of writers of a later and better school, this extraordinary instrument of the deliverance of Asia, and the preservation of Europe, deservedly retains the celebrity which he had acquired for his name, no less by the genius which originated, than by the generosity of heart which impelled him to execute, his sublime conception. 5

* Gibbon.

† Robertson. The tone and style of expression adopted by Doctor Robertson, when he mentions or alludes to the hermit, are to me far more disagreeable than the bolder epithets applied to Peter by Mr. Gibbon: the latter historian saw and felt the native genius of the hermit; the former manifestly wrote under the contracting influence of an unphilosophical, and even vulgar, prejudice.

Amidst so many, and so conflicting opinions, it may seem difficult to ascertain the true merits of the case: the question may, however, be brought to a short issue, by the statement of a single fact; namely, that the conception, by Peter the hermit, of the first crusade, is the only parallel in the history of the world for the original conception of Mahomet, and for the portentous effort of human genius which gave birth to Mahometanism. The lofty genius of the Arabian impostor has been most justly celebrated by the same eloquence, which has, with a brave inconsistency, branded, as the offspring of mere fanaticism or frenzy, the equally sublime project of the humble monk, whose voice awakened Christendom to arms. And whence this partial estimate? Why thus withhold from the project of the Christian pilgrim, the meed of praise, so profusely lavished on the scheme of the eastern false prophet? Is it *because* the character of Peter was unstained by those base and brutal passions, so deplorably ingrained in the character of Mahomet? Is it *because* the motives of the one, were unalloyed by the taint of that selfish and sanguinary ambition, which, in the end, poisoned every better motive, that in the earlier stages of his career, may have operated with the other? Is it, in fine, *because* Peter stood forth

the most successful political champion that ever defended, — as Mahomet had approved himself the most formidable adversary that ever assailed, — the cause of Christianity? Whatever may be the answer to these natural inquiries, the conclusion suggested by the facts of the two cases is sufficiently clear and plain : both conceptions were alike products of inventive genius ; with this difference only, that the genius of the daring fugitive of Mecca aspired, through a sanguinary career of conquest, to perpetuate his name as the founder of a universal religion, and to erect the throne of his ambition upon the ruins of a subjugated world ; while, on the other hand, the pilgrim-soldier of the cross, coveting neither earthly honour nor reward *, aimed but to promote, according to the best lights and notions of his age, the good of mankind, and the glory of God.

But the parallel between Mahomet and the hermit Peter, is not confined to their resemblance in the conception of the vast religious warfares to which they severally gave rise : it may be further strengthened, by some features

* “ He spoke as he felt, and he had seen what he described. His own emotions roused consenting sympathies in all whom he addressed. From the palaces, he went to the villages and towns ; the people crowded to hear him ; and an universal eagerness to undertake the daring adventure, was *his triumph and his reward*.” Turner, vol. i. p. 323. Compare William of Tyre, p. 637. 639. and Guibert, l. 2.

of similitude, which serve—to enlarge the idea of their relation to each other, as analogous instruments of providence; to illustrate more fully the notion of a pre-ordained connection between the Mahometan and the Christian sacred wars; and to re-conduct us, through the medium of this particular analogy, to our great first principle,—the original covenants with Abraham, and the prophetic connection and rivalry of his two sons.

As founders of the two opposed religious wars, it cannot be questioned that the author of Mahometanism, and the author of the crusades, were providential instruments of *the same kind*: on a further comparison, we shall find them to stand historically related to one another, in the following respects:—

1. Mahomet and Peter alike appeared in the character of *religious solitaries*; and alike first presented themselves to public attention, in their ecclesiastical capacity.
2. Each of those leaders of nations arose *in a dark and unsettled age*, and addressed his appeal to *an ignorant and barbarous people*.
3. Each called *the secular sword* to the service of *religion*, and proved successful in its use.
4. The one hurled *united Asia upon Europe*, in the prosecution of a war of religion; the other precipitated *united Europe upon Asia*, in a counter-religious warfare, and re-

pelled the attack.* 5. Both joined the *military* to the *ecclesiastical* leadership, and commenced their rival enterprizes at the head of their respective armies. 6. Lastly, the holy wars, which these extraordinary agents successively put in motion, were carried on through many ages, under the heads of the opposed faiths, the caliphs and the Roman pontiffs; and, beginning alike in ignorance and barbarity, became alike, eventually, the great restorers of knowledge, and the universal benefactors of mankind.

This sketch of the analogy which subsists between the originators of the opposed movements, naturally induces some further inquiry into that historical parallel subsisting between the hostile armaments themselves, which it has in part anticipated. For our present object, it may be enough to point out the analogy of the sacred wars of Islamism and Popery, in a few of its more prominent details, previously to our bringing the present section to its close. The full exhibition of the eventual effects of both enterprizes will form the subject of a separate examination.†

The existence of an historical parallel may be

“ L’Europe entière semblaît vouloir se répandre sur l’Arabie et la Palestine, pour refouler les peuples vers l’Orient ” Hist. des Arabes en Espagne, tom. ii. p. 291. M. de Marès here assigns the *true providential function* of the crusades.

† See sections xii. xiii.

summarily ascertained, by a brief comparison of the motives which actuated, the agents who conducted, and the quarters of the world which became the theatre of, this twofold antichristian warfare.

1. If we compare the actuating motives of the two movements, we find, that in both alike, ambition combined with fanaticism to give the first impulse ; which, in both cases, was alike obeyed in the spirit of a blind and devoted zeal. Again, in the conduct of both enterprizes, the professed object was the same, the destruction, namely, of false religion, and the restoration of the worship of the true God ; while, in the pursuit of this common object, both sides equally held it to be not only allowable, but meritorious, both to defend, and to propagate, religion by the sword. From these coinciding principles, there arose, among the Saracens and the crusaders, a corresponding persuasion, that to fight the battles of the faith was the first duty of religion, and the service most acceptable to God. By the rival champions of the crescent and the cross, the field of battle, accordingly, was regarded as consecrated ground ; and, while they combated from similar motives, they anticipated the same reward : Paradise, and the crown of martyrdom, was the reward held out in the Koran, to all

who fell in the cause of Islamism ; and Paradise, and the crown of martyrdom, was likewise the promised and expected recompense of those crusaders, who should die by the hands of the infidels, fighting the battles of the faith.*

2. When we contrast the directing agents, by whom the opposed armaments were levied and put in motion, we obtain fresh materials for the establishment of the historical analogy between the Mahometan and the Papal sacred wars. For, as these wars were themselves antagonist movements of the two great antichristian powers, so were they conducted severally, the one by the acknowledged heads of the eastern, the other by the acknowledged heads of the western, antichrist : the Mahometan popes, as the caliphs were significantly styled even by ecclesiastical writers in the middle ages, acted always as the projectors and prime movers in the holy wars both of the Saracens and of the Turks ; the Roman pontiffs, on the other hand, no less invariably impelled and directed the entire series of the crusades.†

* “ Breve et quodammodo succinctum est consilium nostrum, pro Christo, Christique legibus, — *glorioso mori et vivere æternaliter* :” in this sentence is contained the genuine sense of the times, as expressed in a full council of the crusaders. See Martene et Durand, tom. v. p. 530.

† See M. De Choiseul D'Aillecourt, *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades*, pp. 83—85, with note 185, for a striking historical coincidence between these antagonist heads of antichrist. On the capture of Antioch,

3. From the common motives which incited, and the kindred agents who prosecuted, the two vast expeditions, we proceed, in the last place, to consider their successive appearance, and eventual collision, upon a common field of action; the circumstance which brings to a point all their other features of resemblance and providential relation.

The propagation of Islamism, was the general end proposed by the Mahometan sacred wars; *the defence of Christianity*, was the avowed general object of the crusades; but a first and favourite project, common to both undertakings, was the design of rescuing JERUSALEM out of the hands of the unbelievers. For, by Christians and Mahometans, in every age, Jerusalem was regarded as the holy city; the cradle and dwelling-place of the prophets; the chosen seat of God's temple, and abode of his peculiar presence. On both sides, accordingly, its possession was aimed at, and contended for, on the ground of religious duty; and the pursuit of this special object, thus necessarily brought the successive

it appears, the pope was formally invited, by the crusading chieftains, to come and put himself at the head of *his own war*; in the very same manner as, on the eve of their conquest of Jerusalem, the Caliph Omar had been called on, by the primitive Saracens, to assume the command in person, and head the triumph of the true believers. Compare Ockley's History of the Saracens.

movements into contact, upon the same spot, from opposite quarters of the globe. The primitive Moslems sought to wrest Jerusalem from the Greeks, whom they accounted unbelievers ; the crusaders, to effect the deliverance of the holy city from the Turkish infidels. The Saracens, advancing upon Palestine from the heart of Arabia, and the Latins, pressing forward towards it from the extremity of Europe, thus present to the eye the wonderful spectacle, of Isaac and Ishmael, in the persons of their literal and their spiritual descendants, striving together for mastery over the city of God, in the land of Abraham their father.

But it is not in Palestine only, that the prophetic conflict of the sons of Abraham was renewed, through the instrumentality of the Mahometan and Papal holy wars : as we follow the earlier operations of these religious armaments, the historical parallel between them will be found every where *geographically* preserved : thus, the conquest of Syria and Palestine, and the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem, were the common first-fruits of the great battles of Yermuk and Dorylæum, fought at an interval of four hundred and fifty years : and, at subsequent periods of their two-fold progress, Egypt, Western Africa,

and Spain *, were reciprocally occupied, or traversed, by the Saracenic and crusading armies ; whose rival careers may be traced on the map of the ancient world, from the confines of Arabia, to the western extremity of Europe.

The similarity of the two enterprizes, in their original character and design, has been already sufficiently illustrated : it remains to be noticed, that, as the crusades drew towards their close, their resemblance to the wars of Mahometanism became, in every point of view, complete : for the warfare which had been instituted for the defence of Christianity, was now converted, through the agency of the popes, into an engine for the propagation of the Gospel, like that of the Koran, by the power of the sword. This antichristian process commenced, with the crusades set on foot, by Innocent III., for the extirpation of the Waldenses and Albigenses ; it proceeded, in the exploits of the knights of the Teutonic order, from the persecution of heresy, so called, in the south, to the annihilation of paganism in the north of Europe, — by the forcible reduction of the Prussians, and the few remaining adherents of heathenism, to the profession of Christianity, and obedience to

* A. D. 843, 844, Saracen Spain was invaded by the *Normans*. See Des Marliès, tom. i. pp. 327, 328. Compare Abulfeda, *Annal. Muslem.* tom. ii. pp. 178, 179, with Reiske's note 168. The Normans were not yet converted to Christianity.

the see of Rome⁶ : an achievement which finally perfected the growing assimilation of the Papal to the Mahometan wars of religion. The national proselytism effected in this truly antichristian spirit was, however, under the control of an over-ruling Providence, signally blest in its eventual results ; which brought Prussia, and the entire north, within the pale of European civilization. *

On the subject of the crusades, we began by stating, that these expeditions were, properly and simply, the re-action of the original Saracenic irruption ; a counterpoise of the same kind with that irruption, and therefore peculiarly adapted to balance its political effects. In the course of our further inquiries, the correctness of this opening statement has been avouched, by the general similarity observable in the character, in the consequences, and in the whole history, of these two astonishing convulsions. Nor is the extent of their historical analogy and correspondence, (although this alone might supersede all ordinary explanations of the phenomena,) the feature which will chiefly occupy reflecting observers : such minds will be more likely to contemplate, in the rise and progress of both religious warfares, those extraordinary concurrences

* See sect. xii.

of *times, instruments, and events*, which almost seem to raise the *historical* parallel, into one sensibly *providential*. The corresponding influence of the two movements, upon the advancement of the human mind, and upon the general revival, over the world, of knowledge and civilization, will, above all other topics of inquiry, claim and repay the attention of the true Christian philosopher.

But, while the eye of the believer surveys this whole wonderful series and connection, his view of the present subject will naturally lead him to ascend as high as history itself can guide him ; and to trace the widely-parted streams of Providence, to their junction at the fountain-head. Now, the most ancient and authoritative record in the world, the first book of Moses, clearly indicates the common source, whence emanated the two opposed religious systems, which gave rise to those two-fold sacred wars ; namely, the patriarch Abraham, through his sons Isaac and Ishmael, the inheritors of two distinct covenants, entered into, by Jehovah, with this father of the faithful. In the terms of the lesser of these covenants, that of Ishmael, was included a prediction of enmities which should subsist between his posterity, and the posterity of his brother Isaac : the prophetic contest between these

brethren, partial and imperfect until the appearance of Mahomet, became, on the first burst of the Saracenic irruption, extended over one entire hemisphere; but it paused upon the confines of the western world, until Europe arose in arms, at the summons of a Christian pilgrim, and poured into the heart of Asia the counter-current of the crusades.

The tide of religious war, which, in the seventh and eighth centuries, had borne the literal descendants of “the son of the bond-woman,” from the depths of their native wilderness, over Asia and Africa, to the remotest borders of Europe, — now wafted, in its reflux, the spiritual descendants of “the son of the free-woman,” from every quarter of the West, over both continents, into the bosom of the Arabian deserts. Mahometanism, in the former case, persecuted Christianity, Ishmael pursued Isaac, in one direction, from Jerusalem and Antioch, to the walls of Constantinople; in another, from the sources of the Nile, to the pillars of Hercules and the Pyrennees; — crossing, on the progress toward Spain, from the coasts of western Africa to the opposite shores of Italy, and penetrating even to the gates of imperial Rome:—papal Christianity, in the latter case, persecuted Mahometanism, Isaac pursued Ishmael, from the Pyren-

nees to the Straits of Gibraltar, and again, from Mount Atlas to the Nile ; while, in the opposite quarter, this retributive visitation reached from the banks of the Hellespont to those of the Jordan and Euphrates, piercing into the inheritance of Ishmael, even to the walls of Mecca. History has handed down the name of the daring Christian warrior, Arnald, or Reginald, of Chatillon*, who, in the age of Saladin, and of our first Richard, issuing from his fastness on the border of the Arabian desert, “ pillaged the caravans, insulted Mahomet, and threatened the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina.”†

And thus, in the action and re-action of the primitive Mussulman, and of the retributory Papal holy wars, may be traced, historically, the double fulfilment of the twofold prophecy respecting Ishmael, on a scale co-extensive with the Roman world. In the career of Saracen conquest, “ Ishmael raised up his hand against

* For the captivity and death of this formidable chieftain, see Vit. Saladin. pp. 69—71. Bohadin styles him, the Prince Arnadt, (Arnauld?)

Lord of Shaubech *البرنس أرناط صاحب الشوبك*. But, in the hands of Arabian writers, the proper names of the Franks scarcely ever escape mutilation. Similar, and very amusing caricatures of English names and titles, are to be found in the Chronicles of Froissart. They have, not seldom, baffled the ingenuity of Mr. Johnes : e. g. *Assueton*, as the family name of a Scottish knight, he gives up in despair. The readers of “ The Abbot ” will easily recognize, through this disguised patronymic, the war-cry of an illustrious Scottish house, — a Seton ! a Seton !

† Gibbon.

every man :” in the crusades, “every man raised up his hand against him :” while, by their united operation, this spurious seed of Abraham was brought, in the event, to “dwell in the presence of *all* his brethren.” For, in these stupendous conflicts, eastern and western Christendom were nearly measured, and re-measured, by the armies of the contending faiths. If the Saracenic inundation overflowed Asia and Africa, Spain, Sicily, and other parts of Europe, — the crusades, on the other hand, laid open and lacerated the Mahometan empire, in almost every part, which, in happier days, had formed an integral portion of Christendom.⁷

I shall close this branch of the subject, with one additional remark : the Mahometan and Papal sacred wars alike commenced, in the seventh and eleventh centuries, with the capture of JERUSALEM ; and they were alike consummated, in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, by the capture of CONSTANTINOPLE.*

* “ A deux époques, célèbres par la renaissance des lettres, Constantinople succombe sous les efforts des ennemis qui l’assiègent ; les désastres de cette ville semblaient être destinés à faire revivre dans une partie du monde, l’art de polir et d’orner l’esprit humain.” De Choiseul D’Aillecourt, p. 166.

SECTION XII.*

ANALOGY BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND MAHOMETANISM,
IN THEIR INFLUENCES ON NATIONAL CHARACTER, AND
CIVILIZATION; ON INDUSTRY, MANUFACTURES, AND
COMMERCE.

“THE progress of Christianity,” observes Mr. Gibbon, “has been marked by two glorious and decisive victories; over the learned and luxurious citizens of the Roman empire, and over the warlike barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the empire, and embraced the religion of the Romans.”† The observation, if extended to the progress of Mahometanism, will be found to hold eminently true. For the career

* In this, and in the following section, the author will have occasion to draw materials largely from writers, who have treated expressly on this important part of his subject: and, not thinking it desirable to break the connection of the text by numerous references, — he must beg leave to apprise the reader, once for all, of the sources of information chiefly employed: namely, the treatises of MM. Heeren and De Choiseul D’Aillecourt, “*Sur l’Influence des Croisades*,” and that of M. Oelsner, “*Sur les Effets de la Religion de Mohammed* ;” together with the highly valuable work of M. Des Marlès, “*Histoire de la Domination des Arabes en Espagne* ;” — a work prepared entirely from original Arabic histories of the Spanish Saracens, translated by M. Condé from the MSS. in the Escorial. In addition to these authorities, much use will be made, in the thirteenth section, of the “*Historia Critica Philosophiæ*” of Brucker, and of the publications of Mr. Sharon Turner.

† Decline and Fall, chap. xxxvii. § ii.

of this spurious counterfeit of the Gospel has been distinguished by its double triumph : over the civilized Christianity of the Greek empire ; and over the pagan barbarians of Turquistan and Tartary, who subverted the empire, and embraced the religion, of the Saracens.

Between these parallel triumphs, however, of the Gospel and the Koran, besides the obvious consideration of the opposite means employed, there is this characteristic contrast ; that Christianity overthrew the paganism of the Roman empire, when that empire was at the height of its intellectual and political greatness ; while Mahometanism, on the contrary, did not arise to crush the religion of Christ, in the Greek empire, until that empire was already far gone, in the decay of corrupted civilization.¹

But it is by an impartial survey of their relative effects, on the minds and manners of their *barbarian* proselytes, that we may best learn to estimate the comparative influences of the two religions on the character of nations : inasmuch as the moral potency of any religious system must invariably bear proportion to the depth of the degradation from which it has raised its votaries.

In the important topic immediately before us, namely, the relative influences of Christianity and Mahometanism on NATIONAL CHARACTER, we

will, therefore, confine our view, chiefly, to the barbarous tribes inhabiting the north of Europe and Asia, who successively received the impress of the Gospel, or the Koran, while still plunged in the depths of heathenism and barbarity; and who successively emerged, through the influences of their religious belief, into the rank of civilized nations.

The historian of the Roman empire has borne eloquent and unexceptionable testimony, to the happy influences of Christianity, on the character and manners of the barbarians of the north. From their adoption of “a religion, whose doctrines are contained in a sacred book,” the hordes of Germany and Scythia became necessarily conversant with the use of letters; “and while they studied the divine truth, their minds were insensibly enlarged, by the distant view of history, of nature, of the arts, and of society.” From the study of the Scriptures in Gothic or Teutonic versions, the transition is naturally and philosophically traced, through the church services, and through the chain of ecclesiastical tradition, preserved, exclusively, in the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers, to the study of the poets, philosophers, and historians, of ancient Greece and Rome. Through the channels thus opened to the northern tribes, by their conver-

sion to Christianity, the salutary, though silent intercourse of mankind with preceding ages, which had stagnated for centuries, was gradually restored. The change effected, by these mental advances, in the moral and political condition of the Christian north, would seem, for the time, to have absolutely charmed down the scepticism of Mr. Gibbon; and happy would it have been, for himself, and for the world, if he had always written thus: — “ The emulation of mankind was encouraged, by the remembrance of a more perfect state; and the flame of science was secretly kept alive, to warm and enlighten the mature age of the western world. In the most corrupt state of Christianity, the barbarians might learn justice from the law, and mercy from the Gospel; and if the knowledge of their duty was insufficient to guide their actions, or to regulate their passions, they were sometimes restrained by conscience, and frequently punished by remorse. But the direct authority of religion was less effectual, than the holy communion which united them with their Christian brethren in spiritual friendship. The influence of these sentiments contributed to alleviate the horrors of war, and to moderate the insolence of conquest. The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the

clergy ; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The perpetual correspondence of the Latin clergy, the frequent pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, and the growing authority of the popes, cemented the union of the Christian republic ; and gradually produced the similar manners, and common jurisprudence, which have distinguished, from the rest of mankind, the independent, and even hostile nations of modern Europe.”*

The conclusion arrived at, then, through this highly philosophical induction, is shortly this, — that modern Europe stands directly indebted, for its admirable system of policy, and advanced state of civilization, to the influences of Christianity on its barbarian proselytes.

Now, the effects of Mahometanism on national character, allowing only for the inferiority necessarily arising from its unspeakably inferior motives, exhibit a wonderful approximation to the happy effects of the Christian religion, as here described by Mr. Gibbon, in raising mankind, from ignorance and barbarism, to knowledge and civilization.

But, what is of peculiar importance to the general subject, this similarity of effects will appear, on examination, to have resulted from

* Decline and Fall, chap. xxxvii. § ii.

a similarity of constitution in the two religions. For the doctrines of Mahometanism, like those of Christianity, are contained in a book accounted sacred. The study of this book, a fundamental duty inseparable from the name and profession of Mussulman, made the use of letters co-extensive with the propagation of the Mahometan faith itself. But the study of the Koran, like that of the Bible, necessarily extended beyond the contents of the volume; and would, on the same principle, insensibly enlarge the minds of its votaries, by opening to them a similar field of research, into the Mahometan history and traditions. The schools of public instruction, primarily established for the advancement of their superstition, in every country occupied by the Saracens, and which, in many parts of their wide possessions, issued in the general restoration and advancement of learning, must, throughout all quarters of their empire, have essentially contributed to abate the ignorance, and soften the natural ferocity, of uncivilized converts.

Let us try these presumptions, by their agreement with facts. The tendency of the religion of Mahomet, in its subsequent progress, to improve the character and condition of the barbarous nations, may be fairly measured, in the first place, by its known influences on barbarism,

at the period of its original promulgation. In Arabia, Mahometanism found the descendants of Ishmael a race of rude and ferocious robbers ; it made, and during five centuries maintained them, one of the most polished and enlightened nations that ever held the empire of the world. In pagan Africa, again, through every age the native soil of incivilization, it transformed the heretofore untractable and untutored Berbers, into a humanized and cultivated people, whose colleges and universities long cherished and diffused those lights of science and good manners, which should one day dispel the barbarian darkness of western Christendom. But it is among the savage hordes of Turquistan and Tartary, the pagan conquerors, as well as converts, of Mahometanism, that the comparison properly lies ; when we speak of effects produced on national character, by this spurious creed, corresponding in kind, if not in degree, with the meliorating influences of Christianity on the Scythian tribes. Constitutionally inferior, in mental capacity, to the invaders of the western empire, the Turks and Tartars, indeed, have never reaped that harvest of national improvement, from their profession of the Mahometan faith, which resulted to the followers of Alaric and Attila, from their conversion to Christianity. Let, however, only

due allowance be made for the proverbially dull and sluggish natures of these Asiatic barbarians,—and Mahometanism, long after the downfall of the empire of the Saracens, will be found to have exercised its softening and civilizing influences on such unpromising converts, in a manner, and to an extent, paralleled and exceeded only by the effects of Christianity, so happily described by Mr. Gibbon, on the character of the barbarians of the North.

For proof of the important coincidence here alleged, between the two religions, I would simply invite the reader to compare the character and court of the great Saladin, with the condition of his pagan forefathers, the Turkmans of Khorazan; or the savage ferocity of the Tartars, under Genghis Khan and his successors, with the refined and enlightened rule of their Mahometan descendants, the Mogul princes of India. Under both dynasties, the influences of the Koran, like those of the Gospel, contributed to alleviate the horrors of war, and to abate the insolence of conquest. During the period of the crusades, even the Christian princes and nobles of Europe derived improved morals, as well as improved manners, from the irreproachable good faith, the strict justice, and

the chivalrous generosity, of the Turks and Saracens. *

Such have been, in brief, the parallel and reciprocal influences of Christianity and Mahometanism, on national character and manners ; effects, as has been already remarked, necessarily resulting from the similarity of character between the original and the copy, between the legitimate and the spurious faith. Nor are other

* By friends and enemies, the illustrious Saladin is borne witness to, as a bright example of the social virtues : his probity and refined courtesies have been often eulogized by the historians of Europe. The author is, however, more struck by a trait of moral tenderness of heart, preserved by the sultan's faithful biographer, than by any of the anecdotes commonly related.

During the siege of Ptolemais, a party of Saracen plunderers, having introduced themselves by stealth among the tents, carried off an infant of three months old, from the camp of the crusaders. The distracted mother flew to the Christian leaders ; her cries and tears awakened the commiseration of all ; but they bade her be comforted, as she might rely on the compassionate nature of Saladin, to whom they would send her, under an escort, to plead for the restoration of her child. The lady went, accordingly, to the camp of the Turkish sultan, where she was received by the historian Bohadin, and by him conducted to the royal presence. Prostrate at the feet of Saladin, she told her grief : as the sultan heard her, his eyes filled with tears ; he commanded instant inquiry after the infant, and, finding he had been already sold, ordered him to be re-purchased at his own cost, and placed the boy in the arms of his mother ! Vit. Saladin, cap. xcviii.

Well might the historian of Saladin desire his readers to think upon a compassion, which thus embraced the whole human race ; and offer up a prayer, that the God who *made* his beloved master so merciful, would, in like manner, have mercy upon him. — This great man had infused his own spirit into his followers : at the sight of the mother and child reunited, Bohadin adds, that himself, and all present, wept with her.

Compare this touching incident, with the conduct of Cœur de Lion, who subsequently butchered, in cold blood, three thousand of his prisoners before the gates of the same Ptolemais, upon a difference about the payment of their ransom !!

marks wanting, to complete the proof of the corresponding action of the two creeds, on the social system. For Mahometanism, as well as Christianity, has its republic ; the union of which, also, is cemented by like means. The missionary zeal of the Mahometan teachers, answering to that observed by Mr. Gibbon in the Latin clergy ; the Mahometan pilgrimages to Mecca and Jerusalem, corresponding with the Christian pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome ; and the temporal and spiritual authority of the caliphs, analogous to the temporal and spiritual authority of the Roman pontiffs, — “ gradually produced the similar manners, and common jurisprudence, which have distinguished the independent, and even hostile nations” of modern Asia and Africa. The international jurisprudence of Mahometan states supposes, indeed, a very different kind of social relation, from that implied by the complicated and comprehensive polity of the European system. But the difference, it will be observed, arises, chiefly, out of the immemorial diversity of character between the institutions of Europe and Asia ; a consideration plainly unconnected with the operation of their respective dominant religions ; which, in those points where they can fairly be stated to have had corresponding fields of action, have given birth, each, to a great commonwealth, in manners, laws, and

institutions, as much at unity within itself, as it is distinguishable from every other political community or association.²

The value of this parallel to the general argument, it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, consists in this, — that the effects on national character, here described, spring wholly and exclusively, in both instances, from the operation of religious belief.

As we proceed in the investigation of the analogy between Christianity and Mahometanism, in their civil and social influences, the fact should never be lost sight of, that, for the entire of the discoveries and improvements contributed by the latter, whether in industry, commerce, or intellectual cultivation, to the common fund of human society, the world is primarily indebted to the Saracens, that is, to the proper descendants of Ishmael. It has been correctly remarked, that the Saracen genius, in whatever direction it moved, was imitative rather than inventive.* This trait of national temper eminently qualified the Arabs for their providential office: adopting whatever was useful or profitable in the countries which they successively occupied, they still carried with them, as they pressed on to new conquests, the lights or im-

* Turner.

provements acquired in the old ; until, at length, masters of half the world, they acted on every province of their vast dominions ; and the usages and inventions of Persia, or Syria, or Egypt, came to be naturalized and perfected in Barbary, or in Spain. The seed, by this salutary process, was taken from a worn-out soil, to strike root and flourish in new ground.

The spirit of Saracenic improvement has been well observed to have received its first impulse, from the national taste for AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS: and the foundations of their intellectual, as well as civil proficiency, have been satisfactorily traced to the indigenous fondness of the Arab colonists, in whatever regions they settled, for the cultivation of the soil. Babylonia, Persia, and Egypt, the earliest conquests of the Saracens, were also the primeval seats of husbandry and tillage. Here, accordingly, the native relish of the conquerors for the labours of the field, found immediate exercise, and acquired new force. The practice of agriculture was speedily improved into an art, by observation of the superior skill and industry of the subject nations. In Egypt, the Arabs restored the canal of Cleopatra, which connects the Nile with Alexandria. In the skilfully-watered plains of Persia and Syria, their successful industry increased the power and resources of the state. From these coun-

tries, observes a lively writer*, the Saracens poured forth like those torrents which bear along with them the germs of vegetation, to scatter them in distant lands. The banks of the Oxus, and the borders of the African desert, at this day, equally attest the indefatigable industry of the primitive Saracens; or of their ingenious and emulous pupils, the Moors. But in no part of their empire, did the agricultural spirit of the Arabs more decisively manifest itself, or make more rapid and persevering advances, than in the Spanish peninsula; the point of communication with western Christendom.

What is here affirmed of husbandry, may be asserted with equal justice of the progress of Arabian improvement, in all its branches; namely, that, while it owed its rise, to the Saracens of Asia, it was carried to its perfection, in the Arab kingdom of Spain. This circumstance bears the marks of a dispensation eminently providential: for, to adopt the judicious remark of a reflecting and impartial historian, its geographical position erected this kingdom into a model for the neighbouring states; and ensured and facilitated the dissemination, throughout Christian Europe, of the lights of Arabian civilization.

The developement of agricultural industry in

Spain, may be dated from the period of the original conquest and settlement. Under the emirs, its progress was occasionally impeded by the civil feuds, incident to an unsettled form of government, in a remote province; but under the glorious domestic dynasty of the Ommiades, and especially during the long and prosperous reigns of Abderahman III., and Alhakem II. *, the art of husbandry attained a height of perfection, before unknown, and (unless we may except Holland and the Netherlands) since unparalleled in Europe.

The process of irrigation is the first great requisite in agriculture, to improve the fertility, or increase the produce, of the soil. The Spanish Arabs carried on this process to so unlimited an extent, that they may be said to have created a new era in the history of European husbandry. They gave artificial direction to the courses of springs and rivers; collected their waters in spacious reservoirs; or conducted them, by canals, into the heart of every district. Spain, at this day, abounds with the vestiges and monuments of Arabian industry; in the provinces of Granada and Valentia, particularly, the modern traveller is reminded, at every step, of the agri-

* For the reigns, and patriotic labours, of these illustrious princes, see Des Marlès.

cultural skill and enterprize of this indefatigable people; insomuch, that even the pride of the indolent Spaniard is subdued into the confession, that, for the entire of the artificial works still remaining, in the best cultivated districts of the peninsula, Spain stands indebted to the Moors.³

During a wise and splendid reign of fifty years, Abderahman, justly entitled the Great, while he occupied himself in the incessant study and employment of every means, that could create and perpetuate the prosperity of a great nation, directed his daily cares to perfect the already matured proficiency of his subjects in the agricultural art. Applying the ample revenues of the prince for the wise encouragement of the people, this illustrious patriot, at the royal expence, multiplied canals, reservoirs, and aqueducts, wherever the enterprize of the cultivators could be furthered by such artificial aids. The most useful plants and fruit-trees of Asia and Africa were mingled with the products of Europe in the royal gardens,—at once the nurseries and models of the national improvement in cultivation. By these means, many valuable exotics were naturalized; while the introduction of two articles of oriental growth, the cotton plant, and the sugar-cane, first gave that impulse to European art and luxury, and to the spirit, consequently, of commercial enterprize, which issued

eventually, under the Christian powers, who replaced the Saracens in Spain and Portugal, in the opening of a maritime communication between the remotest regions of the old, and in the discovery and settlement of a new, world.

The progress of agricultural industry, thus happily advanced during the long reign of Abderahman, was conducted to its height by his son and successor Alhakem; in whose caliphate, new water-courses every where fertilized the most barren plains. Nor did his beneficial enterprizes here terminate: for while cultivation scaled the sides of mountains, almost to the summit, their bowels were successfully explored for rich and productive mines; and amber, coral, and pearl fisheries, were established along the coasts. So that it became proverbial of this illustrious benefactor of Spain and Europe, that he had transformed the lance and the sword into ploughshares; and metamorphosed the Saracens, from a band of fierce and restless warriors, into a race of peaceful and industrious husbandmen and shepherds.

Among the various articles of produce, which authors have enumerated, as introduced and naturalized, about this period, by the Spanish Arabs, may be noticed, rice, sesame, saffron, henna, ginger, myrrh, the pistachio, the palm-

tree, the banana ; to these may be added, more permanent and staple accessions, the olive, the orange, and, perhaps, the vine.*

The cotton-plant and the sugar-cane, claim a separate mention : for the history of these important fruits of the Saracenic industry in Spain, is integrally connected with the commerce and colonization of the new world. The passage of the sugar-cane, in particular, from Granada to Madeira, and from Madeira to the West Indies, is an authenticated fact, so pregnant in its consequences, that it has changed the history of commerce. Among the native commodities, either now first discovered, or, for the first time since the dominion of the Romans, restored to light, — pearls, ambergris, sulphur, mercury, tin, iron, form a rich catalogue of materials for export or manufacture.

The Spanish caliphs, accordingly, early extended their paternal cares, from the successful encouragement of agricultural industry, to awaken the kindred spirit of commerce and manufacture. Manufactures and commerce had already made large strides, under the fostering protection of Abderahman III. ; whose merchant ships, constructed at the charge of the sovereign, trans-

* Not, of course, by its introduction, but by its restored and improved cultivation : hence, not improbably, the vineyards of France, as well as those of modern Spain and Portugal.

ported, in the tenth century, the products of Spain, into the ports of Egypt and Syria: it was reserved for the second Alhakem, to perfect these promising beginnings, by the construction of numerous roads and bridges, and by the creation, at convenient stations, of commodious inns⁴; improvements, which enlarged and multiplied the facilities of foreign commerce, by laying open fresh and general facilities of internal communication.

The progress of MANUFACTURES, like that of agriculture, kept pace with the career of Saracen conquest and colonization. The various branches of manufacturing industry, acquired in the Greek and Persian empires, passed, with the Arab artisans, into Africa, where they quickly spread and flourished, in the hands of the ingenious Moors: from Africa, again, they were transplanted into Spain, where, like the art of husbandry, already treated of, they also attained their greatest height of perfection. The principal manufactures, introduced or cherished by the Ommiadan princes, consisted in the art of tanning or preparing leather; in the processes of weaving cotton, flax, and hemp; and, above all, in the fabrication of cloths, silk stuffs, and military arms. The manufactories of cloth and steel were, chiefly, in the hands of the Spanish Arabs; the industry

and ingenuity of the Moorish settlers secured to them a monopoly of all the other arts. The cloths of Murcia, fabricated from the native wool, the cotton paper of Salibah, and the silk stuffs of Lisbon, Almeria, and Granada, rose into universal estimation. Such, indeed, was the perfection to which the Moorish artisans carried the processes of weaving and dyeing silks, that the silk-cloths of Granada became celebrated throughout the east, from whence this branch of manufacture had been originally imported ; — insomuch that they proved a lucrative source of commerce, with the ports of Asia Minor and Egypt ; and even in the market of Constantinople. To the ancient and important art of working metals, the Arabs of Spain contributed the valuable inventions of carving and incrusting, and, especially, that of damasking or enamelling, steel : in an age, when war formed almost the exclusive occupation of the surrounding nations, the inimitable temper of the Spanish steel drew the almost exclusive demand of three continents to these manufactories, for the supply of offensive and defensive arms.

The state of things here faithfully represented, after original authorities *, supposes, for its growth and maintenance, a state of more than

* Des Marlès, *passim*.

ordinary domestic tranquillity. The tranquillity of Spain, accordingly, was secured, under the Omniades, by the introduction of a species of control until then unknown in Europe ; that of an effective system of national police.⁵

Amidst these various internal and external sources and safeguards of the public prosperity, the principles of taxation became practically understood and applied ; and the productiveness of the national revenue was proportionably augmented. A tax of one-tenth was imposed on the produce of land ; and the ports of the peninsula were subjected to regular import and export duties. The general prosperity of the nation, at this period, may be estimated by the fact, that Abderahman III. drew, from the single kingdom of Saracen Spain, a revenue of about six millions sterling ; “ a sum,” remarks Mr. Gibbon, “ which, in the tenth century, most probably surpassed the united revenues of the Christian monarchs.”

The ascertained influence of Mahometanism on the advancement of industry, in all its leading branches, may be taken as the index to its beneficial effects on COMMERCE. For proficiency in domestic arts and labours, is the natural and sure introduction to foreign speculations ; and the people which begins with being industrious, will

infallibly end in becoming commercial. In their primitive state, the natives of the Arabian deserts, with the exception of some few tribes bordering on the Red Sea, could not attain the condition of a sea-faring people.* The Saracens, however, in all ages, by a native propensity, were commercial. Inland commerce was the immemorial occupation of the aboriginal Bedoweens. Their camels, they significantly entitled ships of the desert, and land-ships. Carriers of the ancient world, under the successive empires of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome, the commerce of the East, especially that between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, was still conducted by the wandering sons of Ishmael.

When conquerors of the East, the Saracens extended, with the growing extent of their empire, their unchangeable national character and customs. Sanctioned and enjoined by the Koran itself, and incorporated with that fundamental law of Mahometanism, the pilgrimage to Mecca, their spirit of inland commerce propagated itself with the conquests and creed of the primitive Mussulmans, to the shores of the Caspian, and to the straits of Gibraltar. The first great effect

* The straits of Babelmandel (*Bab-al-Mandeb*, *the gate of tears*) owe their name to the notion prevalent among the ante-Mahometan Arabs, that the adventurous voyagers who once passed them, never returned.

of Mahometanism, on the history of commercial enterprize, was, therefore, that of opening what had remained closed since the decline of the Roman empire, and had never, under the sway of imperial Rome herself, been so extensively or effectually opened, — one grand continued route for inland commerce, connecting the remotest extremities of Asia and Europe. As they progressively became masters of the ports and islands, which command the navigation of the Mediterranean sea, or the Indian Ocean, the bold and imitative genius of the Saracens promptly exchanged the practice of inland commerce, for the more adventurous pursuits of naval enterprize.* So rapid and successful was their progress on this new element, that, while, in the west, they acquired, and maintained, for two whole centuries, the exclusive empire of the Mediterranean†; in the east, and to the south, the skill and persevering energy of the Arab navigators

* The commerce of Spain, it must here be remarked, began with the *Jewish* colonists; and remained in the hands of the Jews for several ages: the fact is a highly interesting one; for it marks a providential connection, of universal benefit to mankind, between the dispersed family of Isaac, and the victorious descendants of Ishmael. See Des Marlès, tom. i. pp. 470, 471.

† “Rogatu Michaëlis Imperatoris, conati *Veneti* classe barbaros ex Insulâ [Siciliâ] pellere, sed frustra, cum longe majores essent navales copię Saracenorum.” Thes. Sic. tom. ii. p. 232. ap. Græv. et Gronov. Antiq.

extended commerce, geographical science, and Mahometanism, along coasts hitherto unfrequented, or into countries before unexplored.*

On the side of Europe, the fleets of Egypt and Syria, of Barbary and Spain, visited, during the darkness of the ninth and tenth centuries, alternately in peace and war, the coasts and harbours of Greece and Italy. The neighbourhood of the Saracen kingdom of Sicily, while it roused the slumbering energies of the Italians, by the presence of danger, and the necessity of self-defence, appears to have acted, not less beneficially, on the commercial spirit of the Venetians and Lombards. The yet infant prosperity of the Italian republics, eventually matured and developed by the crusades, derived constant aids and encouragements from their intercourse with the Saracens; whether the enterprizes of the latter operated on their avarice, or on their fears.

In the opposite quarter of the globe, voyaging far beyond the term of their original conquests, the Arabs gradually erected a new kind of empire on an unexampled scale. They extended their geographical discoveries, and established

* "In a short time, they advanced far beyond the boundaries of ancient navigation; and brought many of the most precious commodities of the east, directly from the countries which produced them." Robertson's *Historical Disquisition on India*, p. 100.

regular commercial stations along the eastern coast of Africa, as far as Madagascar, and the country of the Caffres. Such, again, was the spirit of adventure, in their coasting voyages round the peninsula of India, that, so early as the eighth century, the Arabs had penetrated into the Chinese seas, and possessed a flourishing factory at Canton. The progress of their language, and, to a great degree, that of their religion, corresponded with the extension of their commerce in the East, which actually united, by a continued chain of factories and settlements, Ormuz and Canton ; the Persian Gulph with the Chinese Ocean. In the course of these commercial voyages, by a singular concurrence of circumstances, Christianity itself was introduced, under the shield of Mahometanism, both in India and China. By long practice and experience on these coasts, encouraged in adventuring more to sea, Mahometan commerce in the Indian Ocean carried its enterprizes as far as the Maldives and Moluccas. But, on this element, their ignorance of the mariner's compass, and their consequent deficiency in nautical skill, confined the adventures of the Saracens, with rare and limited exceptions, to the neighbourhood of the coasts : so, however, was it providentially ordered by Him “ who hath determined unto all nations of

men, the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation," that just at the point where the commercial enterprize of Mahometanism stopped short, that of Christianity, borrowing only to excel, stepped in to replace it.

After this condensed survey of the influences of Mahometanism on agriculture, manufactures, and commerce*, we may now briefly examine the other side of the parallel: namely, the influences of Christianity, from the period of the Crusades inclusive, when it became, peculiarly, the providential reviver of the arts of peace, upon the same great branches of human industry. One observation it will be expedient to premise, in representing the facts belonging to this part of the argument. The reader will hold in mind, that, when we speak of the direct influences of Christianity, in the social action of the crusades, we still speak, in point of fact, of the indirect influences of Mahometanism: the distinction amounts only to this, that the original

* The effects, treated of under these several heads, are properly ascribed, in the text, to the influence of *the religion of the Saracens*. "Le Koran," says M. Oelsner, "recommande le commerce, l'agriculture, et l'industrie manufacturielle, comme des occupations agréables à Dieu, et comme méritantes. Il en résulte, un grand respect pour l'état de négociant, et pour la personne de celui qui l'exerce; le libre passage des marchandises au milieu des armées; et la sûreté des grands chemins." *Effets de la Relig. de Mohamm.* p. 220. Compare D'Ohsson, tom. iv. p. 196. and Chardin, vol. iv. p. 266.

Saracen holy war imported with it, *directly*, the arts and civilization of Mahometan Asia, into the west of Europe; while the subsequent reaction of the Christian crusades introduced Mahometan arts and civilization, *indirectly*, throughout the European continent.

Under the rule of her barbarian conquerors, the art of HUSBANDRY was nearly lost in Europe. The northern tribes held the labours of the field in contempt. The pride of these savage warriors accounted tillage a mean and servile employment, wholly unworthy of their care: agricultural pursuits, accordingly, abandoned to the rude industry of serfs and boors, fell into a state of general disrepute and decline. The evil spread from the North, with the progress of the barbarians, over the countries of the South and West. In the west of Europe, as we have already seen, it received its first great counteraction from the genius of Mahometanism; by the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy, and the establishment of the victorious Saracens in Spain. Almost from the epoch of its conquest by the Saracens, to that of the Crusades, Mahometan Spain afforded an example and a model to Christian Europe, of agricultural industry and improvement.* Its position, however, was too insulated,

* The Kitab al Felahat, or Book of Agriculture, by Abu Zacharia Iahia of Seville, is a splendid monument of the agricultural science of the

and the obstacles to intercourse with the adjoining nations too many and inveterate, for the example of Spain to become, to any considerable extent, imitated or even known in Europe. The social influences of Mahometanism, therefore, must have rested inoperative beyond the term of its conquests, had not Christianity, through the instrumentality of the crusades, providentially interposed for their diffusion.

The effects of the crusades on agriculture, if they appear to have been less direct than their other beneficial influences, were not less general or fruitful. At home, the holy wars operated, gradually, to relax the iron grasp of the feudal tyranny, and to slacken the bonds which attached the serf, as a burthen, rather than an improver, to the soil: abroad, they acted progressively on the minds of the feudal lords, through the sure medium of self-interest, by the practical experience they afforded of the advantages arising to the eastern countries, with which the crusaders now first became acquainted, from their superior cultivation. Besides the comparative freedom attained during the absence of the great proprietors, the peasant, too, had acquired an enhanced value, from the

Spanish Saracens. The sumptuous edition of this great work, from the royal press, at the expence of the royal library, of Madrid, 1802, in two volumes folio, accompanied by a Spanish version, would do honour to the literary spirit of any age or country.

unexampled dearth of population, which the expeditions to Palestine had occasioned throughout Europe. Be the causes, however, what they might, the providential result is certain. The return of the princes and nobles from the Holy Land was marked by a growing amelioration in the condition of the serfs ; and an increasing attention to the culture and improvement of the soil.* In some states, privileges were now granted to the agricultural classes, by the crown ; in others, they were received under the protection of the free cities, a new kind of power, itself the offspring of the crusades. In Holland and the Low Countries, especially, industry, under the wing of commerce, made early and extraordinary progress. The processes of draining and embankment, most probably imported by the crusades from the East, were here carried to a surprising extent and perfection. The dams, and dykes, and canals of the Netherlands, rivalled, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,

* Let it not be forgotten, that the church took the lead in this, as in most of the advances of the times : the clergy were the great agriculturists of the middle ages. " Along the Rhine," observes a modern writer, " from Switzerland to the Netherlands, the success of the labours of the clergy, in fertilizing the soil, is recorded in history." The abbey and monastery lands served as models and encouragements to lay agriculturists : under these auspices, the noxious swamp and the barren waste were converted into fertile gardens ; and a system of cultivation was thus introduced, which, in every stage, is traceable to the direct or indirect agency of Christianity.

the drains, reservoirs, and aqueducts of Spain. Thus, by the joint instrumentality of the original Saracenic, and the subsequent Christian holy wars, Europe was supplied with two great schools of husbandry, in the West, and in the North.

At this conjuncture, by an indirect effect of the crusades, a movement took place which disseminated the agricultural skill and industry of the Netherlands over the entire North. The waste of population, caused by the continued action of the holy wars, fell no where so heavily as in the regions of lower Germany: the country was actually denuded of its inhabitants. Into these parts, the Flemings and Hollanders, invited by a soil and climate congenial to their habits, poured their surplus population. The new colonists formed settlements at the mouths of the Meuse, the Scheld, and the Rhine; occupied that of the Elbe, so early as A.D. 1106; thence extended themselves into Saxony and Thuringia, and through the entire of the countries situated on the shores of the Baltic; until, having at length passed the Vistula, they colonized Ducal Prussia. The scale of the colonization, thus carried on by the self-directed industry of the Flemish peasantry, may be judged of by the fact, that, at the present day, in many parts of Germany, *Hollander* is a term synonymous with *farmer*. By these extensive emigrations, among

the most important indirect effects of the holy wars, the seeds of future civilization were sown in these inhospitable climates; and the regions of the bleak and barren North were providentially converted into the granary of Europe.

While, through the crusades, Christianity was indirectly instrumental in bringing about this great revolution in the north of Europe, the progress of agriculture was more directly advanced in an opposite quarter, by the united instrumentality of Mahometanism and Christianity. In Sicily, the store-house of ancient Rome, the art of husbandry, preserved and cherished, from the period of its conquest in the ninth century, by the Arab colonists from Africa and Andalusia, passed, in the eleventh, into the hands of the enterprising and ingenious Normans. The silk-worm and the sugar-cane, which we have seen flourishing, at an earlier period, under the dynasty of the Ommiades, in Spain, were cultivated with equal success in Sicily, in the twelfth century, under the dominion of its Norman rulers. The industry and arts of Sicily found a ready access to Italy, through the Norman kingdom of Salerno. Christianity thus appears, through the re-action of the crusades, importing, and naturalizing in the South of Europe, those staple products of the East, which Mahometanism, by the action of the pri-

mitive Saracen sacred war, had introduced and naturalized in the West. In Sicily and Italy, as in Spain, it may here be remarked, progress in like arts of agricultural industry prepared the way for the prosperous establishment of the same branches of manufacture.

The influences of the crusades on the MANUFACTURES of Europe, and the connection between Christianity and Mahometanism, in their respective effects on the creation or revival of the several branches of manufacturing industry, are more sensible and immediate, than any we have been able to observe, in tracing the modern progress of European agriculture.

Silk stuffs, cloths, and military arms, constituted the chief branches of manufacture, which the Saracens, about the ninth and following centuries, had introduced into Spain ; and these very branches, the crusades, at a later period, transported from Greece and Asia, to become the charter manufactures of catholic Europe.

Silk manufactories were first established, in the year 1140, by Roger, King of Sicily ; who settled round him, at Palermo, a colony of expert silk-weavers, whom he brought with him as captives, out of the principal cities of Greece, where the art was then at its height. From Sicily, the silk manufacture passed quickly into Italy : where it soon became the com-

mon pursuit of the rival Italian states ; and one of the chief sources of their growing wealth and prosperity. The process of silk-weaving gave birth, at the same time, to the auxiliary arts of dyeing, and embroidering on gold and silver ; which seem no where to have been carried to greater perfection than in the cities of Italy. The knowledge of the principal dyes, such as saffron, indigo, &c., which accompanied the Saracens into Spain, about this period passed into other parts of Europe, in the train of the crusades ; and when, in process of time, the silk manufacture emigrated into climates less suited for the management of the silk-worm, the raw material of Sicily and Italy supplied, as they still in great part supply, the manufactories of France and England.

The origin of the cloth manufacture in the Netherlands, the counterpart of another great branch of Saracenic industry in Spain, has been also satisfactorily traced to the direct influences of the holy wars. Manufactories of woollen stuffs and cloths, and of tissues fabricated from camel's hair, had long existed and flourished in the eastern empire of the Saracens. At the period of the crusades, the cities of Syria and Phœnicia possessed numerous establishments of this kind : from these the crusa-

ders appear to have imported, first the articles, and then the arts themselves, into Europe. The cities of Flanders, of Artois, Hainault, and Brabant, early took the lead in the various departments of the woollen manufacture, which the European nations had thus learnt and adopted, from the Arab manufactories in the east. In the year 1300, the Arras tapestries were already celebrated : and, before the expiration of the fourteenth century, the copy had so surpassed the original, the Christian industry had so excelled the Mahometan, that, in the year 1396, a present of a suit of Arras hangings procured, from the imperious Bajazet, the release of the Count de Nivernois, and the other French princes, then his captives.*

The art of preparing and tempering steel, and the manufacture of military arms and armour, was a third great branch of Saracenic industry : this, in an age when war and chivalry were the universal passion and pursuit, naturally called forth the study and imitation of the Europeans, here most sensitively alive to the superior skill of the Arabs. The Italians appear to have engaged first, in this important and lucrative manufacture ; of which Italy soon rendered itself the great seat. Before the termination of the crusades, the temper

* Made prisoners after the battle of Nicopolis.

of the Milan steel competed with the hitherto unrivalled fabrics of Damascus and Toledo; and its famous plate and mail armour had attained a celebrity, which long secured to Milan a monopoly, in this branch, of the custom of Europe.

Among the manufactures invented or restored by the Arabs, and conveyed from Asia to Europe, through the medium of the crusades, the arts of fabricating glass and paper claim special notice and acknowledgment. The celebrated glass-works of Tyre seem to be admitted without dispute, as the source and model of European proficiency in this curious art; which owed its first introduction to the Venetians, and from them was borrowed by other states. The history of paper has been less exactly ascertained; but there seems not a shadow of ground for questioning the general fact, that modern Europe is indebted for the communication, if not for the discovery, of this invaluable article, to the Arabs of Spain and Asia. In the annals of the Spanish Saracens, which have been recently explored and given to the world *, the cotton paper of Salibah is reckoned among their most esteemed manufactures. The probable invention of paper by the Arabians, and its certain introduction into Europe through the joint influences of the Ma-

* By M. Conde. see De Marliès, ut suprà.

hometan and Christian holy wars, are circumstances which integrally connect Mahometanism with Christianity, in the history of the revival of letters; for, without the previous knowledge and use of paper, the art of printing itself would have been discovered in vain. *

The influences of Mahometanism on the history of modern COMMERCE have been sketched in a preceding topic. The parallel effects of Christianity, on this prolific source of social happiness and advancement, remain to be considered. In this department of the general analogy, one feature may be observed, of peculiar interest and importance: namely, that, precisely at the point where the commercial influences of Mahometanism terminate, those of Christianity begin.

The Saracens, it has been stated, restored the ancient lines of communication, or established new routes, throughout Asia and Africa; which they had successfully explored to their inmost recesses. They filled, alike, the ports of the Mediterranean and of the Indian Ocean, with their merchant vessels; and touched, in their coasting voyages, now on the extremity of China, now almost on the point for doubling the Cape of Good Hope. But this was the sum and term of their progress: unacquainted with the use of the compass, with the art of

* Compare Introduction, pp. 48, 49.

tacking, or with the employment of more than a single mast, they never forsook the coasts: and added nothing, either to the capacities of tonnage, or to the science of navigation. These, on the other hand, were the very advances and improvements, which, in graduated succession, were made auxiliary to commerce, during the progress of the crusades.

From the moment in which the Adriatic and the Mediterranean became the established route for the expeditions to Palestine, we may date the rise of a new era in the history of *navigation*. The increased demand for shipping, to transport and supply the immense hosts of the crusaders, produced an increased supply of ships and seamen, in the Italian states; then the only naval powers of Christian Europe. The inadequacy of the vessels generally in use, for the purposes of their new destination, soon suggested to ship-owners the expediency of enlarging their tonnage, and induced the construction of vessels on a scale before unknown; the greatness of the profits stimulating the efforts and invention of Italian cupidity. Vessels of heavy burthen, at first mere clumsy expedients for the conveyance of troops and provisions, were gradually improved in their construction, and applied to the general purposes of commerce, in proportion as the Pisan,

Genoese, and Venetian carriers became sensible of the augmented profits thus to be secured. The ships now introduced, required, for their direction, a degree of power beyond that which had been hitherto known. The single mast, the only provision in use among the ancients, and down to the period of the crusades, was discarded; and vessels of two or three masts were soon generally employed. Sails were of course added, in proportion to the additional masts. In the management of these, the art of tacking was discovered; which gave to the navigator, heretofore at their mercy, the control and command of contrary winds. The boldness of the mariners grew with their improved skill and experience. The exigencies of the crusading armies created extraordinary emergencies, and called forth extraordinary exertions. Winter voyages, a practice unthought of by the Greeks and Romans*, and unattempted down to the age immediately preceding the crusades, passed, during the period of these expeditions, into general and familiar use. The invention, or application, of the mariner's compass completes the list of nautical improvements, which enable us legitimately to

* The relation of Saint Paul's voyage and shipwreck, Acts xxvii., is alone a sufficient comment on the state of navigation among the ancients: the attempt to pass, not into Italy, but merely from one port of Crete to another, was plainly little short of madness; compare, especially, verses 9. and 12.

derive the modern science of navigation, from the direct influences of the holy wars. By the providential ministry of these expeditions, the path of maritime enterprize and discovery was now happily cleared: when, in the fifteenth century, Christianity at length came forward to change the history of commerce, by carrying to its height that spirit of adventure, of which Mahometanism had barely laid the foundations.

The steps which conducted to this great consummation, are not the least remarkable among those manifold circumstances, which mark a providential connection between Christianity and Mahometanism, in their kindred effects on the social advancement of mankind. The first great voyages of discovery, which cemented together the old, and laid open a new, world*, originated, and were carried into effect, from Portugal and Spain; the only parts of Europe, which had formed integral members of the Saracenic empire. The seeds of commercial enterprize, which we have seen early sown in Spain and Portugal, during the dominion of the Saracens and Moors, — on the extinction of their power, in the fifteenth century, blossomed into fruits

* M. Oelsner does not hesitate to affirm, that the naval enterprize of the Saracens would have ante-dated, by centuries, even the discovery of America, had not their fleet been wrecked in a tempest, after clearing the straits of Gibraltar. See *Effets de la Relig. de Mohamn.* p. 221.

wholly unexpected, in the hands of the Christian Spaniards and Portuguese. After a few preliminary essays, boldly forsaking the coasts, they struck across the eastern and western oceans: and so just was the crisis, and so rapid the progress of adventure, that the same century which beheld the fall of the kingdom of Granada, the last Mahometan state in the west of Europe *, witnessed the discovery of India, by Vasco de Gama, and that of America, by Christopher Columbus.

The providential adjustment of the balance between the two religions, at this particular conjuncture, is, perhaps, one of the most striking arrangements for the production of a political equipoise, to be found throughout history, ancient or modern, sacred or profane. For, the erection of the Turkish empire in the east of Europe, which finally took place, at this momentous period, by the capture of Greece and Constantinople, was doubly counterbalanced in the opposite quarter, by the conquest of Granada, and by the erection of the Portuguese empire in India †, — a new and formidable bar-

* M. Heeren traces the fall of Granada, and the final expulsion of the Moors, to the agency of the crusades; which gave rise to the *military orders* of Spain and Portugal. See *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades*, p. 230.

† It is highly interesting to find the *Portuguese voyages of discovery*, among the ascertained fruits of the germinant influences of the crusades.

rier against the incessant efforts of the Ottomans towards universal dominion.*

But it is with the general results of the great epoch of maritime adventure, that we are more properly and especially concerned; for these first laid open the only unexplored field, for carrying to its completion the grand prophetic conflict between Mahometanism and Christianity. It has been already noticed, that, just at the point where the maritime progress of the Arabs ter-

M. Heeren has shown, that the expeditions of Don Henry were fitted out by the liberality of that military order, of which the illustrious Infant was Grand Master: — “ Il ne faut pas négliger de remarquer, qu'en ce dernier pays, (Portugal,) ce furent sur-tout *les richesses de l'ordre du Christ, qui fournirent à son grand-maître, Henri, dit le Navigateur, les moyens de faire ces grandes expéditions, et ces découvertes, qui, en montrant aux flottes le chemin des Grandes-Indes, firent une révolution dans le commerce et dans la politique de l'Europe.*” *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades, note, pp. 231, 232.*

* Perhaps, in no part of modern history, is the unity of the divine plan more conspicuous, than in the *sameness* of instrumentality raised up, at an interval of nearly five centuries, to check the destroying progress of the Turks, in opposite hemispheres. It has been elsewhere proved, (see sect xi.) that the Turkish whirlwind was averted from the eastern frontier of Europe, wholly by the direct action of the crusades. It now further appears, that, from these holy wars arose, indirectly, the discoveries and empire of the Portuguese, in India. But to this great revolution in the destinies of the east, in the unbiassed judgment of the Abbé Raynal, who is followed by Dr. Robertson, Europe was indebted, a second time, for her deliverance from Turkish bondage. — “ It is,” says Dr. R., “ to the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and to the vigour and success with which the Portuguese prosecuted their conquests, and established their dominion there, *that Europe has been indebted, for its preservation from the most illiberal and humiliating servitude, that ever oppressed polished nations.*” *Hist. Disquisit. on India, p. 189.*; for the author's grounds and proofs of his conclusion, compare pp. 190—93.

minated, it was met and encountered by the rival progress of the Christian powers of Europe. After the final cessation of the crusades, the opposed religions thus came anew into hostile collision, on their opposite courses of discovery : and an Arab settlement was the first object which presented itself to the Portuguese, on doubling the Cape of Good Hope !

By the Portuguese voyages of discovery, Christianity was now brought into the only untried point of contact, with Mahometanism ; Isaac was introduced to the only untrodden scene of conflict, with Ishmael, in the remotest extremities of the East. The Mahometan conquests and settlements in India, until now undisturbed, were, at length, visited and subdued by a new race of crusaders ; by the naval powers of Europe. The conflict at this period began, indeed, in the thirst of gain ; but it was conducted by the Portuguese, in the true spirit of persecution : the career of Lusitanian bigotry in India, was a deteriorated revival of the holy wars.* Arabia, the primitive seat of the family of Ishmael, which, during the crusades, was assailed and violated on its western frontier, by the over-land expeditions of Christian Europe, — had now to sustain a severer storm, on its eastern frontier, from the victorious

* For *Roman Catholic* testimony on this subject, see “L’Ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse,” as cited in final note.

fleets, and merciless fanaticism of Portugal; sweeping, at the same moment, the whole line of its Indian colonies, and the entire circuit of its coasts, — extending along the Persian Gulph, the Arabian, and the Red Seas. The persecution of Mahometanism in India, especially on the Malabar coast, by the Portuguese, and the unheard-of barbarities practised by this Christian people, for the conversion of their unhappy victims, are spoken of with horror and amazement by native writers.* The Inquisition of Goa† filled up whatever was wanting in the antichristian cruelty of the Portuguese soldiery and sailors. No where, in a word, during the most barbarous period of the crusades, does the retributive vengeance of Papal Rome appear to have fallen more heavily on the disciples of Mahomet, than, in the fifteenth and following centuries, in the Arab settlements on the coasts of India.

To the commercial empire of Portugal in the East, succeeded those of rival European powers. The Dutch, the Danes, the French, the British,

* See Narrative of Zeireddien, ap. *Asiat. Research*, vol. v.

† The author well remembers the impression made upon his mind, in childhood, by the perusal of “*L’Histoire de l’Inquisition de Goa*,” which, strange to say, was put into his hands by a zealous French Roman Catholic. it was an impression never to be effaced.

have, in their turns, conducted this last great eastern struggle between the hostile faiths : and, beneath their successive political assaults, Mahometanism, long supreme in India, is lowered from the height of empire, and, at this day, is visibly depressed and declining. Under these providential circumstances, the ascendancy of Great Britain, the first foundress of a pure episcopacy in Hindostan, would seem, so far as short-sighted man may anticipate, providentially reserved to realize that glorious prospect, which now, apparently, begins to unfold : to make subjugated Islamism, after the conversion of its numerous professors throughout her vast Indian possessions *, the grand instrumental means, for

* For a happy illustration of the fitness of Church-of-England Christianity to win its way among Mahometans, the author is indebted to a learned and valued friend ; to whom, when in Turkey, the incident which he is about to mention occurred. Were that friend at present within reach, his permission would be sought, for confirming, by the authority of his name, the following most interesting anecdote.

The Rev. ———, when a traveller in the Levant, was asked by a Turk, Whether he crossed himself *on the breast*, or *on the forehead*? On ———'s replying that he did neither ; that it was not the practice of the church to which he belonged ; — the Mussulman could not conceal his pleasure and surprize, on learning that he conversed with a Christian, who belonged *neither to the Romish, nor to the Greck church*. The nature of the feeling will easily be understood, when we recall to mind the persecutions, which Mahometanism has, for so many ages, inflicted on the latter church, and suffered from the former. But the church of England stands clear on both grounds ; and the favourable consequences may prove inestimable for the cause of the Gospel.

erecting, when the fore-appointed period shall arrive, the triumphant banner of the Cross, on the ruins of Paganism in its eastern strong-holds; in its first and its latest seat of empire.

It is a well-ascertained fact, that the preparatory influences of Mahometanism, towards bringing about in India this eventual consummation, have been long discernible in the rise of a sect of theists among the native Hindu idolaters⁶: a phenomenon palpably connected with the reiterated diffusion of the fundamental principle of the Mahometan faith, through Hindostan, by the arms of its successive Mussulman conquerors, the Saracens, the Turks, and the Moguls. This auxiliary provision seems providentially ordered, and most happily disposed, for the final reduction of India to the yoke of the Gospel. Mahometanism, it should be observed, though, in certain points of its character, a real middle term between Christianity and Paganism, is, nevertheless, essentially, a non-conducting medium: its inherent bigotry, its substantive superstition, its strong outworks of ritual observances, its immemorial prejudices, its spirit of proselytism, its pride of universal dominion, — are inherent obstacles, which must all tend to bar its immediate coadjutorship. But a theism distinct from Mahometanism, thence

emanating from it, is wholly free from these counteracting tendencies.

Nor do the preparatory influences of the faith of Mahomet, on the natives of the Indian peninsula, terminate here. Besides its direct and undoubted agency, in propagating, beyond the limits of its own pale, the doctrine of the divine Unity, Mahometanism, in those districts of India where it has been the prevailing power, has invariably loosened the bonds of Hindu Paganism, by lowering the prejudices of caste. In Bengal, for example, where the Mahometans are numerous, the distinctions of caste are far less rigidly enforced, and less scrupulously observed, than in the interior of the peninsula, where there are comparatively few disciples of the Koran.⁷

In the mean time, while its influences, direct and indirect, have been instrumental in effecting these salutary changes, the Mahometan religion itself, under the British rule in India, is observed to be now in a very declining state⁸: not in numerical strength, — for there has been no sensible decrease in numbers, — but in spiritual power. Throughout the greater part of British India, the zeal, once its chief characteristic, is nearly extinct; the enthusiasm, formerly its animating spirit, has almost expired. This general

decline is said to be perceptible, in a growing neglect of the Mahometan ritual, of the fasts and daily prayers prescribed by the Koran; and seems, in a great degree, attributable to the indirect effects of our political administration. The wise, because discriminative toleration, extended by the British Government to her subjects of all religions, has naturally contributed to abate the spirit of intolerance, inherent in Mahometanism. That spirit of liberty, again, which characterizes all her institutions, has operated in India to unhinge the social links which bound the Mussulmans together, by rendering the lower orders independent of the higher; a process which has dissolved the control of religious, as well as of civil, subordination. Thus, by the twofold agency, under divine Providence, of her free and glorious constitution in church and state, the commercial rule of Great Britain in the East promises, eventually, to secure to her a palm beyond all earthly crowns; — the honour of one day leading forth the now enslaved and benighted nations of Asia, into the glorious light and liberty of the Gospel of Christ.⁹

SECTION XIII.*

ANALOGY BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND MAHOMETANISM,
IN THEIR INFLUENCES ON ARTS, SCIENCES, PHILO-
SOPHY, AND LITERATURE.

IN every age where they have appeared, and in every country where they have flourished, industry and commerce have been the parents of science and civilization. But at no period of the world has this connection been so signally exemplified, as during the term that elapsed between the eighth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era ; between the establishment of the rival houses of Abbas and Ommiah, in the caliphates of Asia and Spain, and the general restoration of learning in Italy, and throughout Europe. What peculiarly characterizes this memorable period, as, in the progress of this work, there has been frequent occasion to intimate, is, that the whole process of improvement, social and intellectual, which has gained for it so just a celebrity, can be traced exclusively to the joint

* For the principal authorities consulted in this part of the work, see sect. xii. ad init. *note* *.

agency of Mahometanism and Christianity; the two great religious systems which then divided, as they still divide, the empire of the world; and which, during this prolonged term of nearly eight hundred years, successively rendered the arts of life, which they revived and cherished, instrumental to the revival also, and advancement, of the lights of knowledge. We have just examined the parallel effects of the two religions on agriculture, manufactures, and commerce: we will next contemplate them, as, through the instrumentality of these pursuits, giving a new birth to the several branches of intellectual cultivation: to arts, sciences, philosophy, and literature.

Nothing can be more exact than the parallel advances of the two creeds, toward that mental renovation of mankind, which issued in the production of the intellectual wealth and resources of modern Europe. The erection and aggrandizement, throughout the East and West, of numerous and populous cities, were, the reader will call to mind, among the first-fruits of the manufacturing and commercial prosperity which emanated from the Saracenic and Catholic crusades. The population of Bagdad or Cordova *, in the

* The census of Cordova was one million. *De Marliès*. The funeral of Ebn Hanbal, was followed by 800,000 men, and 60,000 women, inhabitants of Bagdad. *D'Herbelot*.

ninth and tenth centuries, equalled that of modern London or Paris; and the wealth of those immense capitals was proportioned to their population. The census and revenues of Venice, Genoa, Florence, not to mention other Italian states, will amply verify the corresponding effects of the Christian holy wars, on the enlargement and prosperity of cities. The cases instanced, are merely taken as specimens of the efficacious general agency of the religions of Christ and Mahomet, on a department of national improvement, which supplies, in fact, the foundation of all social progress. For it is notorious, that the influences of Mahometanism spread flourishing cities and towns over the Asiatic and African dominions of the Saracens; and that the influences of Christianity multiplied towns and cities not less flourishing, in the centre and north of Europe. The cities of Spain and Italy, however, were the chief seats of commerce: accordingly, we find Spain and Italy becoming, in their turns, the great providential sources of the general revival of letters. And we see, in these countries, the newly-arisen lights of Mahometanism and Christianity converging to illuminate, from its opposite extremities, the benighted nations of Europe. From these states, especially, we behold the two religions start as competitors in a new field of conflict: in these states,

the lamp of science was re-kindled from the East, by the influences of Mahometanism, in the progress of the great twofold crusade: but Mahometanism, having thus discharged its providential part, has long since yielded up its borrowed lustre, to heighten those earlier lights of Christianity, whence it originally drew its own illumination. Learning, indeed, it will freely be acknowledged, was revived in Europe, in the eighth century, by the direct, and in the fifteenth, by the indirect effects, of the primitive Saracenic holy war: but it should be equally remembered, that the rudiments of knowledge were introduced anew, by Mahometanism, from the East, only to be carried by western Christendom to the height of their perfection. Thus, in this, as in every former topic of comparison, nothing will be found wanting to complete the triumph, and to guard the inviolable supremacy of the Gospel.

An extraordinary increase in the number and population of cities has been noticed as a common effect of the great Saracenic irruption, and of the crusades. Respecting the Saracens, especially, the remark has been justly made, that, in the prosperous age of their empire, they never effected a new conquest, without laying, at the same time, the foundations of a city.* The

* Oelsner.

rise of a national taste for ARCHITECTURE was the necessary and immediate consequence of this wise and prospective policy. We will begin, then, with a survey of the relative influences of the Saracenic wars, and European crusades, on the progress of this noble decorative art.

In forming their peculiar school of architecture, the Saracens seem to have laid aside their propensity to imitate, and to have followed the bent of their national genius. Their architectural school, possessing distinctive features equally removed from the classic beauty of the Greek, and from the severe regularity of the Egyptian, has been appropriately characterized, as the union of elegance with boldness. At the height of their prosperity, the Arabs devoted themselves enthusiastically to the cultivation of an art, the study of which among them, as is attested by the erection of the celebrated mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, was nearly coeval with the period of their earliest conquests. Throughout Asia, Africa, and Spain, mosques, palaces, and public buildings arose, almost simultaneously, on a scale of magnificence, which caused them to surpass the chaster monuments of ancient Greece and Rome. Spain, in particular, from its situation peculiarly qualified to serve as a model for

the rest of Europe *, was distinguished, under the house of Moawiyah, by the multitude and splendour of its architectural works. For our object, it may suffice to give some idea of the progress of architecture during a limited period. In the erection of the palace and city of Azharat, founded by Abderahman III. the Arab historians relate †, that, besides the rougher materials, the consumption of cut stone, for twenty years together, amounted to six thousand blocks daily; the arched ceilings of the palace were sustained by four thousand three hundred columns of marble. Erija, Segovia, Tarragona, were indebted to this munificent Caliph, for splendid public or religious buildings. But the royal city of Cordova chiefly engrossed his care. The quays, the mosques, the baths, which embellished this proud capital, were principally the work of Abderahman. Cordova, in this reign, is stated to have

* Italy, however, had a nearer example, in the Saracen kingdom of Sicily: for the splendour of their architecture at Panormo, see *Thes. Sic. tom. iv. p. 474. ap. Græv. et Gronov. Antiq.* “Cum Panormum omnium deliciarum genere affluentem animadverterent Saraceni, non modo non delicias hostili crudelitate perdiderunt, sed eas etiam mirum quantum novis inventionibus auxerunt. Extant vel hodierna luce Saracenicarum deliciarum magnificentiarumque, vestigia, de quibus jam Primo Libro sermonem habuimus, quæ, cum egregia sint omnino, ac præclara satis, ostendunt, quanto in pretio, quantoque honore, habitam a Saracenis Panormum fuisse.” *De Panorm. Maj. Ib. t. xiii. p. 161.*

† It was rivalled by the palace and gardens of Aziza, at Panormo, Cf. *Thes. Sic. t. xiii. pp. 57—65.*

‡ De Marlès, tom. i. p. 419, 420.

contained two hundred thousand houses, six hundred mosques, nine hundred public baths, fifty hospitals, and eighty public schools. Its great mosque exceeded in spaciousness, and equalled in splendour, the famous mosque Alaksa, at Jerusalem.* I have instanced here the products of a single reign : it were easy to enlarge the catalogue ; but, were no other memorial left of the architectural proficiency of the Spanish Arabs, the solitary remains of the Alhambra would competently indicate their leading share in the restoration of this art in modern Europe.†

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Europeans, including several highly-distinguished ecclesiastics, who visited Spain in pursuit of the science of the Arabians, had full opportunity of observing the superiority of the Saracenic architecture, to any thing that was then known or practised in Europe. From the epoch of the

* Like the mosque of Omar, that of Cordova was erected on the site of a Christian temple : its cost amounted to a hundred thousand pieces of gold. Cf. Abulfed. Annal. Muslem. tom. ii. pp. 60, 61.

† Has the attention of architects, or of writers on architecture, been directed sufficiently to Spain? A *comparison* of the genuine Saracenic remains in the peninsula, with the earliest specimens of Spanish architecture, in their details, might do more to illustrate the connection of the two schools, and the history of the pointed style, than has been effected, or is likely to be effected, by elaborate theories on the subject. The author was struck by the features of resemblance, discernible even in the plates given in books of travels : see especially Mr. Jacob's highly interesting " Travels in Spain." For a description of the Saracenic castle of Bencvente, see Southey's History of the Peninsular War, vol. i. pp. 781, 782.

crusades, this partial acquaintance with the Arabesque style became general: the crusaders not only visited and frequented, but, for the space of nearly two centuries, dwelt and reigned in, some of the principal cities of the east. Now, as, during the entire period from the tenth to the fourteenth century, there was unquestionably a constant influx into the West, of the Arabian arts and sciences, it is not to be supposed, that objects so palpable as their buildings, and so connected with the comforts and convenience of life, could have passed altogether unimitated and unnoticed. Without entering on the controverted derivation, of what has been improperly termed the Gothic style, there can be no reasonable question, that the general and intimate acquaintance of the European nations with the splendid edifices of the Saracens, must have largely contributed to produce that new era in architecture, which arose in the twelfth century. The coincidence of the pointed style with the period of the crusades, is alone a strong presumption in favour of its Saracenic origin. But, however this may be, it is proved by facts, and admitted by the best and latest authorities, that modern Europe owes the restoration of architectural science to the Arabs and the holy wars.

Prior to this period, the art was at its lowest

ebb. From the time of Charlemagne, the Lombard style, variously modified by our Saxon and Norman ancestors, was the only one in use, or rather, in existence. The ecclesiastical, almost the sole public buildings, were heavy, or mean, in their construction: private architectural edifices there existed few or none. The age of the crusades introduced a general and complete revolution. The massive dulness of the Lombard school was now universally exchanged, for the bold and graceful forms of a style, singularly analogous, and closely allied, to the Saracenic. The low-roofed vault suddenly replaced by the long and lofty perspective of the pointed arch *, marks more expressively than any laboured detail of argument, the influence of their growing familiarity with the structures of the Saracens, on the minds of the Italian and German, the French and Norman, artists. None were now accounted able architects, but those who could dazzle and surprise, by the daring

* Westminster Hall, erected by William Rufus, A. D. 1097, might be instanced as a specimen of this transition since unequalled, could it be ascertained that the roof was restored by Richard II. on the model afforded by the original building. At all events, the dimensions of this matchless structure, taken in connection with its date, which coincides nearly with that of the first crusade, strongly indicate the influence exercised by the Spanish Saracens, on the French or Norman architects. It is a remarkable fact, that Saracen Spain had been visited and ravaged by the *Normans*, in the ninth century. Cf. Sect. xi, p. 194. *note*.

temerity of their conceptions. In the construction of their mosques, it was a favourite artifice of the Arabs, to sustain immense and ponderous masses of stone, by the support of pillars so slender, that the incumbent weight seemed, as it were, suspended in the air by an invisible hand. The forms of ecclesiastical architecture, first introduced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, betray how largely and successfully this peculiar artifice was caught and imitated, by the emulation of the crusaders. The towers of Pisa and Strasburgh, and the cathedral of Amiens, among the most perfect specimens extant of the pointed style, were also among the first-fruits of that great change which took place in this art, during the progress of the crusades. In the thirteenth century, it is recorded of Saint Louis, that he carried with him, on his expeditions into Asia, two favourite architects, Eudes de Montreuil, and Jousselin de Courvaulx; who there, in the school of the Saracens, enjoyed ample opportunities of perfecting themselves in their art. The famous holy chapel, the master-piece of the former of these artists, and the church of the Chartreux, at Paris, with eight others, are numbered among the results of his labours, after returning from the holy land. While, therefore, the revival of architecture was undoubtedly one

common effect of the influences of Mahometanism and Christianity, through the medium of their respective holy wars, — the connection between the opposed systems may be drawn still more closely, by the consideration, that the influences of the one appear to have created the first principles of that style, which those of the other carried to such unexampled perfection ; and that the ecclesiastical architecture of modern Europe, in particular, owes some of its most characteristic features to imitation of the style which prevailed in the mosques of Mahometan Asia.

In the arts of sculpture and painting, the severe simplicity of their creed, and their superstitious dread of idolatry, precluded the Saracens from any competition with their masters, the Greeks. Music, however, was not liable to the same exception ; and in this art, accordingly, the Arabs, both in Asia and in Spain, are said to have attained great excellence. The history of the Arabian music is little known ; but its connection with the revival of the art in Italy seems clear and undoubted. The connecting link may be traced to the monastery of Monte Casino. The monks of this celebrated seat of science, “ who were distinguished before the year 1000, not only for their knowledge of the

sciences, but their attention to polite learning, and an acquaintance with the classics *,” and who unquestionably drew their learning from the Saracens, composed, we are told, among various other pieces, “learned treatises in music.”† From these truly venerable ecclesiastics, Italy, together with the graver sciences of the Arabs, it seems morally certain, received her earliest initiation in an art, which she has since brought to such a pitch of excellence; and which, from the great revival of letters to the present day, has, under the control of Christianity, served alternately to charm down the cares of life, and to exalt the noblest services of religion.

The influences of Mahometanism happily prepared the way for the successful progress of the European nations, in acquaintance, practical and theoretical, with the surface and form of our globe. By their discoveries to the south, east, and north, of the empire of the caliphs, the Saracens greatly enlarged the bounds of GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE. In one direction, their armies, or their caravans, penetrated into regions of Africa now unknown to Europeans, and which have hitherto remained inaccessible to the best-con-

* Turner.

† Turner. Compare Oelsner, *Effets de la Relig. de Moham.* p. 167., for a notice of the Arabic treatises on music; which may have served as precedents for the school of Monte Casino.

certed efforts of modern enterprize ; in another, their merchants and travellers visited the trackless wastes of Siberia, Russia, and Sclavonia. * Their discoveries along the coasts of India and Africa, have been noticed, in the preceding section, in tracing the history of their commerce. The *science* of geography, too, was a favourite study of the Arabians †: this sufficiently appears to European geographers from a single specimen, the geographical work of the illustrious Abulfeda ; whose love of knowledge conducted him, in the fourteenth century, into England ; and who, to illustrate his scientific survey of the region beyond the Oxus, cites a great number of Arabian authors. The spirit of proselytism, which prompted and accompanied all the undertakings of the Saracens, with its inseparable consequence, the obligation of pilgrimage to Mecca, ensured the permanence of their geographical knowledge ; by maintaining, as matter of religious duty, those communications, which conquest or commercial enterprize had once laid open. ‡

* The commercial intercourse of the Saracens with the north of Europe, is among the most interesting results of their indefatigable spirit of adventure. The learned orientalist, D.J.L. Rasmussen, refers to a treatise of his own on the subject : — “ cfr. dissertationem meam de commercio Arabum et Persarum medio ævo cum *Russia* et *Scandinavia*, Danice scriptam.” See Hist. Arab. ante Islamismum, p. 19. Hauniæ, 1817.

† Robertson, Hist. Amer. vol. i. p. 39.

‡ Oelsner, p. 203, 204.

The influences of Christianity, commencing at the period of the crusades, when they present a complete resemblance to those of Mahometanism, have raised geographical science to its present high perfection.* The crusades first restored and enlarged, in the West, the practical knowledge of geography; they unbarred and threw open to Europe the gates of Asia, which European barbarism and Mahometan bigotry, by their joint agency, had, from the fall of the western empire, to the end of the eleventh century, effectually closed. Religious zeal, commercial enterprize, and the rising spirit of inquiry, henceforward combined, to explore successfully the remotest regions of the East. Following in the train of the crusaders, the missionary or the merchant served as pioneers to more skilful travellers. In the thirteenth century, central Asia was visited and described by a Flemish missionary, and India and China, by an Italian merchant: the piety of Saint Louis gave birth to the voyage of Rubruquis; the commercial spirit of Venice, to those of Marco Polo. While their exaggerated reports of the riches and resources of Asia stimulated the cupidity, their animated and marvellous descriptions awak-

* Dr. Robertson has stated the *immediate* connection of the revival of the science of geography, and of the art of navigation, with the introduction of the Arabian sciences into Europe. See *Hist. of America*, vol. i. p. 59.

ened the laudable curiosity, of the western nations. By these, and succeeding voyagers, before the close of the fourteenth century, the entire continent and islands of Asia, with the exception, perhaps, of Thibet, and some provinces in the interior of India, had been traversed and delineated. In addition to written accounts, the imagination of the curious was further gratified and excited, by descriptive plans or maps, containing representations of the situation, products, and costumes, of the several countries. These first essays were rude in the extreme; the sciences of geometry and astronomy had not yet been applied to frame or illustrate that of geography: the positions and forms of the various regions were, therefore, strangely misrepresented. In these beginnings, however, was laid the ground-work of those advances in geographical science, which prompted, and, in return, were promoted by, the voyages of discovery in the fifteenth century.* The progress of geography, both in practice and theory, may, from that period, be reckoned among the most eminent triumphs of modern science and civilization. It has been remarked by the learned, that, under the reign of Mahometanism, geographical know-

* These enterprizes themselves owed their origin to the *geographical studies* of Don Henry. See Robertson, *Hist. Amer.* vol. i. p. 61. What a moment in the history of mankind, when the secrets of the old and new worlds lay in embryo, in the mind of this wonderful instrument of Providence!

ledge was materially aided by the pilgrimage to Mecca: it is certainly remarkable as an additional circumstance in the parallel, that, under Christianity, in the time of the crusades, this branch of science derived exactly similar aids from the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The congeniality of the MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES to the genius of the Saracens, gave the first spring to their mental energies and exertions.* Their earliest labours in this field, which commenced in Syria, consisted in translations from the works of Archimede, Ptolemy, and other Greek mathematicians. The zeal with which they applied themselves to the study of geometry in particular, contributed materially to the advancement of this primitive branch of the mathematics†, while it secured the permanent revival and diffusion of the previous knowledge of the Greeks. The study of the sciences of the ancients became soon the ruling passion of their mercurial imitators: the lights acquired in Asia were perfected in Spain, and, from this

* “ *Studia Arabum in Hispania Australiora, et in Africa Septentrionali, et tunc temporis (cent. xii. xiii.) erant, et diu ante fuerant, florentissima, eaque summo habita in pretio. Nam et scientiæ liberales riteque institutæ, diu ante vocari solebant a nostris studia Arabum, et Arabica studia; veluti denominata a gente, ac locis, ubi tunc solum serio colebantur.*” Selden. Op. tom. ii. pp. 520, 521.

† Oelsner, p. 206. “ *Trigonometry*, which had never been known to the Greeks as a separate science, took that form in Arabia.” Playfair, Suppl. Encycl. Brit. vol. ii. p. 4.

point of contact, diffused themselves over Europe ; where Archimede and Ptolemy were first rendered into Latin from the Arabic versions. The state of mathematical science, at the present day, is the best evidence, how largely Christian Europe profited by these gifts of the Arabians ; and with what interest Christianity has here repaid the loan, transmitted to her, through Mahometanism, from the ancients.

The mode of arithmetical notation, by the letters of the alphabet, the only one known in ancient Europe, presented an insuperable bar to the progress of the Greeks in numerical calculations.* For letters, the Arabs substituted those cyphers, or numerals, which, either they had themselves invented, or had adopted from the Indians and Chinese. And, from the time of this important change, may be dated that progress of arithmetical science, which has, ever since, continued its advances towards perfecting the art of calculation : an art which has extended such useful aids, both to the general progress of knowledge, and to the practical employments of ordinary life ; and which, above all, has so contributed to improve and enlarge the commercial system and relations of Europe, as to render modern commerce an intellectual pursuit, and

† For a valuable dissertation on this subject by the learned Dr. Thomas Brett, see the “ *Bibliotheca Literaria*,” No. vii. pp. 22—25.

its conductors, the best patrons and protectors of the liberal arts, and of every species of mental cultivation. The passage of the Arabic cyphers, from Mahometan Spain, into Catholic Europe, took place in the tenth century.* Their first introduction seems satisfactorily traced to the illustrious Gerbert, afterwards Pope Silvester II.† This is not the only instance in which the influences of Popery and Mahometanism, in the hands of their rival heads, the popes and caliphs, are to be seen conjointly operating for the good of mankind, by the encouragement of science and civilization.

The doctrine of equations is said to have been known to the Greeks : if so, it had not, among them, escaped from the state of infancy ; for it is certain, that they never applied this distinct branch of mathematics to any practical or useful purpose. Whether they were, or were not, its inventors, the Arabs were unquestionably the first who discovered the true utility and importance of the science of ALGEBRA ‡ ; and who em-

* Professor Leslie, in his *Treatise on Arithmetic* (Suppl. *Encycl. Brit.*), adopts a much later date. The authorities followed in the text, however, are supported by Professor Playfair, in the dissertation prefixed to vol. ii. of the same work.

† For our manifold obligations to this great man, compare Turner, *H. M. A.* vol. iv. p. 435.

‡ “ L’usage d’Algèbre, enseigné par les Sarrazins, est un très-grand pas qu’ils ont fait faire à l’esprit humain.” Oelsner, p. 213.

ployed it, as a new master-key to the yet unexplored treasures of mathematical knowledge. The ideas entertained of their proficiency in this profound and pregnant science, seem to become daily enlarged, with the growing knowledge of the long-neglected remains of Arabic learning. Among their algebraic discoveries, the invention of the solution of equations of the second degree, is ascribed by the learned to Mohammed ebn Musa : and the work of Omar ebn Ibrahim, on cubic equations, led Montucla to form a much higher estimate of the success of the Arabs in algebra, than the moderns had been in the habit of entertaining. Algebra was first imported into various parts of catholic Europe, at the same period with the other sciences of the Arabians*, by the churchmen and scholars, whom a noble spirit of inquiry had conducted into Saracen Spain. There is, perhaps, no branch of learning in which the modern has so surpassed the ancient world, as the mathematical : men of science are unanimous in acknowledging how largely this result is owing to the use of algebra; and each fresh inquiry swells the amount of our debt, on this score, to the Spanish Saracens. But here,

* “ It was not from Greece alone, that the light proceeded, which dispelled the darkness of the middle ages ; for, with the first dawn of that light, a mathematical science, of a nature and character unknown to the geometers of antiquity, was received in Europe from Arabia.” Playfair; Diss. Suppl. Encycl. Brit. vol. ii. p. 11.

as in every preceding example, we may trace the final result to the same originating source; to the parallel influences of the kindred and conflicting creeds: Mahometanism, in the earlier stage of the providential process, still planting and nurturing the seeds of science; Christianity, in the later, causing them to spring up and flourish, and to bring forth fruits to perfection.

The earliest essays in astronomical science were made in the east; and among the eastern nations the Arabians were remarkable, for the study and observation of the heavenly bodies. When, therefore, under Mahometanism, learning became the national pursuit and passion of the Saracens, it is but natural to suppose, that ASTRONOMY would not be less cultivated*, than its kindred branches of science. It appears, accordingly, that the Saracen mathematicians applied themselves, with signal zeal and success, to this particular study. With their wonted penetration, they soon detected the errors of former systems; corrected or improved the imperfect lights of the Greeks; and drew conclusions of their own, from their own observations, respecting the laws and motions of the heavenly

* The Arabs have, in one respect, appropriated the dominion of this science. The astronomical vocabulary now in established use, is, to a great extent, of Arabic origin: it has happened to the author to be applied to, by an eminent astronomer, for explanations of the Arabic terms, with which this branch of science abounds.

bodies. The measurement of the earth, undertaken by the command of Almamon, remains an illustrious monument of the proficiency and zeal of the Arabian astronomers, and of the practical character of their observations and researches. Abulfeda has preserved the details of this great enterprize, and its merits have been attested by our most eminent modern mathematicians.* Among the discoveries of the Saracens, that of Albatagnus, which anticipated, in part, one of the greatest reaches of modern invention, may be deservedly classed the highest. This astronomer discovered that the apogee of the sun has a proper movement of its own, by which it advances uniformly along the ecliptic; whence, arguing analogically, he proceeded to establish the principle, that the apogees of all the planets have a proper movement in the same direction, only less sensible than that of the apogee of the sun. On this great discovery Bailly remarks, that it is the sterling mark which determines the value of the astronomical labours of the Arabs: a foundation-stone which they have laid, towards the construction of the true fabric of the world. The Arabian philosopher thus discovered a phe-

* “ The next measurement [after that of Eratosthenes] is that of the astronomers of Almamon, in the plains of Mesopotamia; and the manner of conducting the operation appears to have been *far more accurate* than that of the Greek philosophers.” Playfair, Prelim. Diss. Suppl. to Encycl. Brit. vol. ii. p. 106.

nomenon in the system of nature, of which it was reserved for Newton to penetrate the cause.

But the progress made by the Saracens, in their scientific researches, is to be measured, not so much by the amount of their actual discoveries, as by the surprizing reach and justness of their conjectural anticipations, while criticizing the now-exploded systems of the ancients. It is observed of them, as their highest praise, that they already began to perceive the insufficiency of many of their own lights and attainments; to discern the defectiveness of the Ptolemaic system; and to have such presentiments of future discoveries in astronomy, as could be formed by those only, who had themselves made great advances.*

At the dawn of the great revival of European learning, astronomy was among the first of the Arabian sciences which engaged the attention of inquirers. The spirit of literary adventure, which now transported alternately, in a generous rivalry of research, natives of Germany and Italy, of France and England, into Mahometan Spain, brought back into these countries, with other first-fruits of their toils, not only the elements of astronomical science, but some of the standard works of the Arabian astronomers. In the stu-

* Mr. Gibbon has undertaken to depreciate the proficiency of the Arabians both in geometry and astronomy ' See vol. x. pp. 46—48.

dies of the schools, which, after the example of what they had seen in Spain, Gerbert and his successors established every where over Europe, the knowledge of the Greeks came thus to be combined with the recent lights and discoveries of the Saracens. In no quarter, do these establishments appear to have flourished more, than in England: where the study of the Arabian sciences generally, and, in particular, that of astronomy, can be legitimately deduced, from the age of Robert Retinensis, to that of the celebrated Roger Bacon.* This prodigy of the middle ages, the prototype as well as the precursor of his great name-sake, was the genuine offspring of these new schools of science. Himself an orientalist, Bacon drank deeply of the Arabian learning at the fountain-head; and thence (as appears irrefragably from the authorities cited in his works,) drew all the chief resources of his genius. In the principles advanced by this extraordinary man, in his almost prophetic project for the emendation of the kalendar †, as the distinguished editor of the *Opus Majus*¹, the learned Doctor Samuel Jebb, has ably shown in his preface to that work, we find

* Cf. Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philosoph.* tom. iii. pp. 683, 684.

† Even here, Bacon trod in the steps of the Arabians. The *Gelalæa* era, introduced in the reign of Malek Shah, A. D. 1079, stands as the middle term between the Julian, and the Gregorian, style. See Decl. and Fall, vol. x. p. 367.

the undoubted origin of the true astronomy, as afterwards unfolded in the Copernican system. The principles advanced by Paul, Bishop of Sempronia, at the council of Lateran, towards fixing the true period for the celebration of Easter, were taken, without acknowledgment, from the works of Bacon : at the instance of that prelate, Nicholas Copernicus, for the completion of this work, first bent his mind to the more exact observation of the motions of the heavenly bodies : the result of his labours it is needless to repeat : the reader will only remark their ascertained connection, through Friar Bacon, with the Arabian astronomy ; and the uniform recurrence of the same great moving cause, — the joint influence of Mahometanism and Christianity, — in first reviving, and finally perfecting, every branch of human science.

The parallel effects of the two religions, which have been just exemplified from the progress of astronomy, can be equally traced in the history of OPTICS. This kindred science was first restored by the Arabs, who attained great excellence in it, and made surprizing reaches for its advancement. The work of Al Hazen, in particular, is said to be a rich repository of optical discoveries and observations.*² This Arabian

* “ An interval of nearly a thousand years divided Ptolemy from Al Hazen, who, in the history of optical discovery, appears as his immediate successor.” Playfair, *Suppl. Encycl. Brit.* vol. ii. p. 113.

author explains the laws of refraction, with an enlargement and correctness of view, of which there is no precedent among the Greeks. He lays down the method of ascertaining the quantity of refraction; fixes the height of the atmosphere; and proves that, above its elevation, there exists a substance of greater rarity than the air. But, what is still more worthy of remark and consideration, the theory of the telescope may be found in the work of this astronomer, composed about A.D. 1100, nearly five centuries prior to its practical invention.

Still following in the steps of his masters, the Spanish Arabs, the science of optics was sedulously cultivated by Friar Bacon. The success of this great inventor, as usual, was answerable to his zeal. The *Opus Majus* contains ample proof of his profound acquaintance with the laws of refraction and perspective; in the study of which, he not only far outstripped the lights of his own age, but left a gap of centuries, between the theory of his several discoveries, and their verification in practice. The uses of magnifying glasses and telescopes, and the principle of their construction, are explained in the great work of Bacon, with a truth and clearness which have commanded universal admiration. He foresaw, also, and foretold, their application to the science of astronomy, and the influence they

must exercise on its advancement. In a word, the great invention of Galileo appears to have been little more than the practical revival of principles laid down by Roger Bacon ; which principles, again, he had derived from the Arabians ; a fact which once more retraces the stream of revived science, through the influences of Christianity, to those of Mahometanism, for its rise.

By their cultivation of the mathematical sciences, the Saracens only *restored* those branches of knowledge, which had been known and in use among the ancients. In the history of CHEMISTRY, they assume the undisputed rank of *inventors*. This important science, the primitive source of the experimental philosophy, was the genuine product of Arabian genius ; of that union of Oriental imagination, with a practical spirit of research, which properly distinguishes the intellectual character of the Saracens, from that of the ancient Greeks. The abstract intellect of the Greeks, which, in their best days, gave birth and maturity to their noble school of moral philosophy, degenerated, with their political decline, and with that of their imitators, the Romans, into the minute and contemptible subtleties of sophistry. The experimental intellect of the Arabs took a different course, and led to an opposite result. Their

ardent imagination first aimed at impossibilities : they began their peculiar career in science, by the pursuit of a visionary object. This object, however, it will be observed, though unattainable, was substantial ; and the practical nature of their researches soon corrected the errors of their imagination. In the process of the romantic quest after the philosopher's stone, and the elixir of immortality, the dreams of alchemy * originated, and gave place to, the realities of that great experimental science, which has proved, under the guidance of the moderns, at once the interpreter of the kingdom of nature, and the parent of the true system of philosophical investigation.

Such is the well-known history of chemistry. The indefatigable zeal and industry with which the Arabs devoted themselves to this novel and congenial art, found their recompense in a corresponding proficiency. They successfully analyzed the various substances of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms ; made experiments on air, fire, earth, and water ; ascertained the opposite and

* The reputation of the German chemists is matter of notoriety : they are among the first experimentalists in the world. It is a remarkable fact, that the modern Germans owe their eminence in this science to the same cause, which had operated so propitiously among the Arabians ; viz. the study of alchemy, and incessant researches to discover the process for transmuting the baser metals into gold.

kindred properties of alkalies and acids; invented, together with the alembic, various kinds of distillation and sublimation; discovered the volatile oils; and compensated their failure in the attempt to transmute the inferior metals into gold, by the discovery of the medicinal qualities of mercury, and by the more valuable transmutations of poisonous minerals into salutary medicines. The details of their progress in chemical science, however, are of little moment to the present argument, compared with the position, which the simple fact of their being the *inventors* of this art, necessarily assigns to the Saracens, in the providential history of the world. For this invention, we have seen, lies at the root of all our most celebrated modern discoveries and advances in philosophy: and, what is certainly not less worthy of observation, it appears, from the very nature of the pursuit in which it originated, that the fervid genius of Arabia was as indispensable to its first rise, as the phlegmatic temperament of Europe was essential to its full perfection. It was their credulous cupidity, united with their innate love of the marvellous and mysterious, which first prompted the Saracens to their indefatigable experiments in alchemy; and these experiments, again, corrected, in process of time, by the phlegm of the European.

nations, have raised the science of chemistry to its present elevation and dominion.

With the knowledge of those ancient sciences, which they revived, the Saracens would naturally communicate to catholic Europe the art of chemistry, which they invented. The early introduction of this new science, and its derivation from the Arabs, are ascertained by every species of testimony. The East and West, the influences of the crusades and those of the Spanish Arabs, are, however, so intermingled in the history of European chemistry, that it seems difficult to apportion properly the account of our double debt, to the Saracens of Asia, and to those of Spain. In western Christendom, no less than in the Saracen empire, the progress of chemistry was long apparently obstructed, and secretly advanced, by the eccentric speculations of alchemy. But the more sober temperament of the European mind early abated the force of this delusion, and gradually extricated itself from its influence. In England, especially, the vast and practical genius of Roger Bacon rose superior to the shackles of a theory from which it could not wholly emancipate itself. His experiments, which anticipated the discovery of gunpowder, indicate an acquaintance with almost every operation now used in chemistry : so that, if to him

has been assigned the honour of introducing chemistry into Europe, to him also belongs the distinction of having advanced this science towards that perfection, which it has since attained. In the school of experimental knowledge, which Bacon thus founded, alchemy, like astrology, the superstition of true science, by degrees gave place to chemistry properly so called. The laboratories of the West, henceforward, not only exhibited all those processes, and furnished those various preparations, which before were confined exclusively to the Moors and Orientals ; — but chemical operations ceased to be the effects of chance, and were conducted according to fixed principles and rules. It was now, indeed, that the art of chemistry came to be raised into a science. Its subsequent history is linked with the whole intellectual progress of modern Europe. Essentially germinant in its character, from the epoch of its first rise to the present hour, every age, every year, almost every day, has been productive of some new advance or discovery, in chemical science. England, which lays claim to its original introduction in the thirteenth century, has, from that period to the present, maintained her just pretensions to this honour, by the fostering encouragement which she has especially extended to chemical inquiry ;

until, in the nineteenth century, by the consent of admiring Europe, the attainments of her chemists have surpassed all former excellence, and illustrated the reputation acquired, and bequeathed to his country, by the genius of Roger Bacon. The English reader needs not be reminded, that the prime ornament of the first philosophical society in Europe, the illustrious Robert Boyle, was also the great restorer of chemistry, and the first experimentalist of his age; or that the chair of that society has been since filled by the first experimentalist of our own.* Crowned in the mathematical sciences, at an intermediate stage, by the unrivalled fame of Newton, the Royal Society, it will by none be denied, in the person of its late president, has borne away the palm of chemistry from all competitors.

The success of the experiments on gas and steam, has given mankind a new control over the works of art and nature. The powers of the steam-engine †, in particular, an invention but of yesterday, have already superseded all known mechanical forces. On land, they have been identified with almost every branch of human industry; while they command the raging of the

* Sir Humphry Davy, Bart.

† In this practical department, the name of WATT will still maintain the supremacy of England.

sea, by the introduction of a wholly new system of navigation.* It is impossible to contemplate, without wonder and awe, these last and most astonishing results of experimental science. But, while we admire the practical effects, let us not lose sight of the great providential cause. Let it not be forgotten, that the science which has given birth to such unparalleled fruits in modern Europe, is indebted for its origin, to the peculiar genius of the Saracens of Spain and Asia: that if, without the aids of European judgment, chemistry might never have been perfected, without the enterprize, on the other hand, of Arabian enthusiasm, chemistry never might have been. This natural reflection brings us once more to our proper argument; to the parallel effects of Mahometanism and Christianity, on the advancement of human knowledge: in the single department of science here considered, as in the entire history of their twofold operation, the two systems appear so to act, and so to combine together; the one preparing the means, and the other accomplishing the end, as though Isaac,

* To acknowledge the eminent proficiency of America, in the application of steam, especially to the purposes of navigation, is only to pay an additional tribute to Great Britain. It is one and the same national spirit at work, on opposite sides of the Atlantic: and long may it be, before either country is willing to forget their honourable relation, as *parent* and *child*.

without Ishmael, could not have been made perfect.

The highest medical authorities unite with the voice of common fame, in acknowledging the debt of Europe to the Arabs, for the recovery and improvement of the art of MEDICINE. The Saracens appear to have cultivated, with equal success, the precepts and the practice of medical science. They applied themselves, with extraordinary diligence, to the study of the ancients; until they had mastered, and made their own, whatever was known to the Greeks. Their advances in the newly-discovered science of chemistry soon enabled them to distance their preceptors.

In pharmacy, especially, or the art of preparing medicines, the inventions of chemistry daily enlarged the catalogue of remedies. Not only were the preparations of herbs and simples multiplied, but the precious metals, and precious stones, were now made to contribute to the real or supposed cure of diseases. Whatever there may have been of fanciful in some of these processes, the analysis of the properties of mercury, and the application of this metallic substance to the purposes of medicine, must alone suffice to vindicate the chemical researches of the Arab physicians, and to demonstrate the

value of their experiments on metals and minerals.

Among other important additions to the vegetable medicines, the Saracens first introduced into use rhubarb, tamarinds, cassia, senna, and camphire. For honey, the only substance of its kind known to the ancients, they advantageously substituted sugar; and, by its aid, compounded a great variety of healthful or agreeable preparations. They had early shown a strong propensity for horticulture, and a peculiar aptness for detecting the useful or healing virtues of plants. Their practical genius in this department was improved, by their growing skill in chemistry, into a considerable proficiency in botanical knowledge.*

In the science of medicine properly so termed, the doctrine of symptoms was the favourite and most successful study of the Arabs. The perfection to which their zeal and penetration brought this doctrine, enabled the Saracens to solve many obscure problems in medicine; to trace various diseases from their effects to their causes; and to apply suitable and effectual remedies. They appear to have been particularly conversant with the nature and treatment of affections of the

* Oelsner, p. 202. note 2.

skin; which is still considered the seat of most of the disorders incident to the human system. To the Saracen physicians, belongs the merit of having first investigated and described the small-pox. They also were the first who understood the nature and management of the measles. The inflammation and abscess of the mediastine, the abscess of the pericardium, and its adherence to the heart, the relaxation and other affections of the throat, with the elephantiasis, are classed, by the admission of the moderns, among those distempers, the symptoms and cures of which, were originally discovered by the medical skill of the Arabians. Besides the several classes of malady which they brought newly to light, the Saracens are said to have greatly improved on their predecessors, in the knowledge of apoplexy*; hydrophobia, and impediments of the speech; of sciatica, cancer, and sundry other diseases. In surgery too, although restrained by religious scruples from the practice of anatomy, they invented the critical operation of bronchotomy. Such, on the whole, was the deep and various proficiency of the Saracens in medicine, and its kindred arts, that, in the opinion of one equally eminent as a medical writer and an

* Their *remedies*, it must be confessed, are sometimes rather startling. See Brucker, Hist. Philos. tom. iii. p. 79. note x.

Orientalist, the learned Sprengel, medical science, even in its present advanced state, might derive important accessions, from the study of the Arabian authors.

The transmission of the art of medicine, from the Saracens, into Catholic Europe, is one of the best-authenticated facts in the history of the reciprocal influences of Mahometanism and Christianity. The medical seminaries of Africa, Spain, and Sicily, supplied the lights of the Norman school of Salerno; "the first," says Mr. Gibbon, "that arose in the darkness of Europe." In this illustrious seat of reviving science, the treasures of Grecian knowledge were first explored, in the works of the Arabian physicians and philosophers. The study of medicine, here, was especially countenanced by the church; and encouraged, not only by the sanction, but by the example, of the Christian ministry. Monks and prelates embraced the medical profession; adding the then venerated dignity of their sacred order, to augment the reputation of a school, of which they were, themselves, among the earliest and brightest ornaments. The most eminent of the physicians of Salerno, almost the father of this school, was a monk of Monte Casino; the celebrated Constantine, a Christian native of Africa, and a pupil

of the still more famous Avicenna. After a scientific pilgrimage of thirty-nine years, spent in the research of knowledge over the East, Constantine, we are told, “returned from Bagdad, a master of the language and learning of the Arabians:” he settled at Salerno, where he long practised and taught. To the lessons and writings of this great man³ may be justly ascribed the subsequent progress of medicine, not only in this, its first Christian seminary, but in the schools which branched out from that of Salerno, into all the countries of Catholic Europe. The derivation, therefore, of the modern art, from Mahometanism, through Christianity, admits not of doubt or question: and if the proper and direct effects of the Mahometan religion are apparent, in the first great revival of medical science, those of the Christian are not less so, in adopting, diffusing, and bringing to perfection, the Saracenic discoveries and improvements.

The subsequent progress of the art of healing, under the fostering care of Christianity, constitutes one of the happiest and noblest triumphs of the social influences of the Gospel. If the munificent policy of the caliphs aided the cause of science, among the Saracens, by the erection, in the chief cities, of hospitals for the reception of the sick, — the more munificent piety of the

catholic church (resuming its prescriptive monopoly of charity, since the *first* hospital was founded by a Christian Father*,) multiplied establishments of this class beyond all former precedent. The slumbering charity of Europe, suddenly awakened from that lethargy of barbarism, under which it had lain oppressed for centuries, was called into universal action, by the exigencies of the crusades, and by the unparalleled sufferings of the Christian pilgrims. Along the principal routes to Jerusalem, numerous hospitals were now raised, for the shelter of the sick and destitute: and the military orders, including in their ranks the princes and prime nobility of Christendom, were expressly founded for their safeguard and superintendence. These foreign institutions became the models for similar establishments at home: in every part of Europe, charitable foundations were endowed, for the treatment and cure of the diseases of the poor; religious societies were formed for their superintendence; Christian charity, in a word, arose as the great auxiliary of medical science; and the art which owed its restoration to the civil influences of Mahometanism, attained its perfection through the moral influences of the Gospel.

* S. Ephrem Syrus, the Deacon of Edessa. This fact is wholly omitted, even by Beckmann, who treats expressly on the subject, *Hist. of Inv.* vol. iv. pp. 467—498. However, he justly ascribes the honour of such benevolent institutions to *Christianity*. Attention is requested to the final note (O), p. 518. of this volume.

The diseases of the human frame, congregated in the European hospitals, became subjected to stricter scrutiny, and left room for broader inductions: the skill of our physicians grew with their increased practice and experience: the theory of medicine was extended and verified by the practice of anatomy, from which, a superstitious, yet laudable reverence for the dead, had deterred both the Greeks and the Arabians. It was in the schools of Italy, the immediate offshoots of that of Salerno, that our illustrious Harvey acquired that anatomical knowledge, of which, the greatest discovery recorded in the annals of medicine, that of the circulation of the blood, was the result and recompense.

In tracing the parallel influences of the Mahometan and Christian faiths, on THE REVIVAL AND PROGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY, in its several branches, the point of real importance to be determined, is, in what peculiar respects their joint agency on these more abstract studies, contributed to the advancement of the human mind. To ascertain this, it will be essential, that we consider, in the first place, the particular stage at which the two religions successively took up the study of the ancient or Greek philosophy.

The philosophy of the Greeks had obtained its true meridian, in the age of Alexander the

Great. From that period to the downfall of the western empire, notwithstanding the many important accessions which it apparently derived from the labours of its later cultivators, whether Greeks or Romans, the ancient philosophy was really on the decline. The Platonists of the Eclectic school undoubtedly raised the science of moral philosophy, in some respects, to a height unattained by, and unknown to, the greatest of their predecessors. It will be recollected, however, that, where these later sages of antiquity left behind them the paths trodden by Socrates and Plato, they walked by the guidance of a light which was not their own. Christianity had now arisen on the world; and they, who, in the pride of human wisdom, refused to worship this Sun of Righteousness, were yet contented, in silent ingratitude, to borrow warmth and illumination from its beams. The superior morality of the eclectic Platonists was, in fact, nothing more than systematic plagiarism. A pirated and mangled copy of the Gospel ethics, was their sole addition to the moral teaching of their acknowledged masters in philosophy. The natural consequences may be seen, in the early degeneracy and disappearance of the Eclectic school. Meanwhile, in a providential aspect, it discharged one most important function; for it

aided in forming the great school of the Christian fathers : but it held absolutely no rank as an independent system ; for it added nothing to the proper philosophy of Greece.

The first step of the Arabs, in their intellectual career, was to overleap the middle term which stood thus interposed between modern and ancient learning. They almost wholly overlooked the later Platonists *, to grapple with the last great master of the Greek philosophy. In the works of Aristotle, they found precisely the food demanded by their clear, penetrating, and experimental genius. The logics and metaphysics of this great philosopher ; his exact system of ethics ; and his practical researches in natural history,—alike met and awakened corresponding qualities in the Saracenic mind. The doctrines of Aristotle, again, were not more congenial to the national intellect of the Arabians, than to the principles of their new religious belief. His philosophy identified nature with religion ; delighted in investigating the chain of causation ; and saw, in each physical effect, the demonstration of a first cause. The Arabs, ac-

* For the degree in which they cultivated the Eclectics, see Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* tom. iii. p. 154. They used them, however, chiefly as indexes to the ancients : thus, the *Isagoge* of Porphyry was translated into Arabic, to serve as a key to Aristotle.

cordingly, bent the undivided force of their genius, to the study of this master ; and, while, in consequence, they raised the peripatetic school to a celebrity which it had never reached in ancient Greece, — they so improved on it, in their inquiries into physical facts, as to lay the foundations of a new philosophical system. Aristotle and the Greeks made few experiments: their experimental reasonings, consequently, were, at best, inconclusive ; and degenerated into subtle distinctions and definitions. His Arabian pupils, on the other hand, following their native practical bias, made large and luminous experiments ; and, though fettered by their habitual reverence for the Aristotelic predicaments, their experimental reasonings, being founded on a broader induction of facts, led to solid practical conclusions. To restore the correspondence of the human mind with the best philosophy of Greece, in its best day ; and to clear a path for the advancement of that philosophy, by improving on it in its more solid and practical branch, the physics of Aristotle, — would seem, then, to have been the peculiar service rendered, to the intellectual polity of the moderns, by the influences of Mahometanism.

At the culminating point in this progress, Christian Europe received the lights of Arabian

learning. When the learning of the Saracens first diffused itself over Europe, and for some ages after, things rested seemingly stationary : at least no very palpable advances were made towards the perfecting of knowledge. The fetters of the Aristotelic predicaments remained unbroken ; or rather appeared to be multiplied and rivetted, by the endless definitions and distinctions of the schoolmen. During this intermediate process, however, under the seeming pause, there was real progress. The intellect of the European nations, which needed just such a whetstone, was sharpened by the subtleties of logical and metaphysical debate. Their taste for physical science (a pursuit peculiarly congenial to the solidity of the Gothic and German character), acquired originally in the schools of the Saracens, gradually enlarged their knowledge of facts, into the first principles of the experimental philosophy. Their superior judgment, meanwhile, imperceptibly disengaged them from the shackles of those abstract theories, which had ensnared and tied down the mercurial temper of the Arabs ; which had checked their experimental career, and held them in permanent and childish subjection to the errors of the Aristotelic system. By the genius and industry of learned churchmen and physicians, the only

scholars of the age, physical facts and experiments were now accumulated ; and sublimed into philosophical principles and laws. To free the practical science of Aristotle from the thralldom of his metaphysics, and thereby to carry forward the true philosophy from the very stage at which the Arabs had stopt short, would appear, therefore, to have been the peculiar service rendered to the cause of learning, by the Christian nations of Europe. And thus, the great providential work, which the intellectual influence of Mahometanism had begun, was conducted, by the intellectual influence of Christianity, towards its last perfection.

The general character of their influences on philosophical inquiry being thus premised, I shall proceed to examine the parallel effects of the two religions, on the history of modern philosophy, in its three great branches ; — logic and metaphysics, ethics, and natural or experimental philosophy.

The LOGICAL AND METAPHYSICAL SCIENCE of the Saracens, which lay at the foundation of their whole intellectual progress, had its rise directly from the influences of the Mahometan religion. In the controversies which necessarily arose with unbelievers, so called, the Koran and the Sonna were soon found to supply but feeble

weapons of defence, against the arguments of Jews and Christians. During its period of war and conquest, the victorious creed of Mahomet needed no other argument than the sword. But, in the long calm which ensued, under the house of Abbas, after the erection of Bagdad, emphatically styled "the city of peace," Mahometanism found itself exposed to a new species of trial; and was forced into an unequal combat, with adversaries clad in the impenetrable armour of truth and reason, and practised in the warfare of words. The liberal curiosity of the caliphs, first awakened by intercourse and converse with their Christian physicians*, had recently procured some Arabic translations from the Greek; including parts, if not the entire, of the works of Aristotle.† The argumentative subtleties of the Stagyrte offered the only succour, which could give promise of maintaining, for any time, the cause of the Koran, against the advocates of the Old and New Testaments. The Mahometan doctors no sooner saw, than they seized, this vantage-ground; and betook themselves, with all their national fervour, to the study of the Aristotelian logics and metaphysics.‡ The de-

* Brucker, tom. iii. p. 22.

† Ibid. tom. iii. pp. 23—29. 33—35.

‡ Ibid. tom. iii. pp. 31. 143. 152.

finitions, distinctions, and predicaments of this philosophy, were alternately applied, to cloak the nakedness and deformities of their own system of belief, and to introduce perplexity and confusion into the reasonings of their opponents.* The native acumen of the Saracens found its congenial exercise, in the conduct of these debates ; and a pursuit taken up from expediency, was carried on from inclination.

Such are the undoubted origin and history of the Arabian SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY.†

From disputations with the Jews and Christians of the age, the professors of this new science easily and early fell into dissensions and divisions among themselves. Philosophical sects and schisms sprang up in the bosom of Mahometanism. The rival schools of the Ramists, or inquirers into the laws of practical theology, and the radicalists, or investigators of the abstract attributes of the Deity, comprized, each, a variety of subordinate denominations. Metaphysical speculations were, at once, multiplied and subtilized, by theological zeal. The controversy passed from Asia into Africa, and from Africa into Spain. The text of Aristotle, darkened by the obscure

* Brucker, tom. iii. pp. 31. 35. 53—56. 94. 132. cf. Abulfarag. Dynast. ix. p. 217.

† Ib. iii. pp. 56—59. 99.

labours of a host of lesser disputants, was successively illustrated, by the commentaries of Alkendi, Alfarabius, Alasshari, Algazel, Avenpace, Avicenna, and Averroes. The doctrines of liberty and necessity, which had agitated the early Christian church, and the ancient schools of Greek philosophy, were now brought anew into discussion, by the subdivided followers of Mahomet. From its primitive severe simplicity of belief, Mahometanism became transformed into a chaos of contradictory tenets and opinions.* Of its seventy-three sects, some diverged into scepticism and atheism, while others approximated, in a surprising degree, to the peculiar and distinguishing doctrines of Christianity.† Meanwhile, their mutual theological hatred rose to such a height, that each party accounted the belief of the Christians or the Jews far preferable to that of its Mahometan rival; and the measure dealt to principles, extended to persons. The antagonist zealots of logical and metaphysical

* Brucker, iii. 136—142. From this inextricable confusion, the learned historian of philosophy takes just occasion to admonish those sciolists, — “ Qui Muhammedanam religionem *propter simplicitatem* Christianæ præferendam esse contendunt, — *difficilibus disputationibus, et incertis hypothesibus, eam æque fertilem fuisse: inque eo Christianæ religioni postponendam, quòd id, quod in hac [Christiana religione] ineptientis et novaturientis ingenii humani vitium fuit, in illa [Muhammedana religione] ex legis suæ inepta indole occasionem sumsit.*” Ut supr. pp. 147, 148.

† Ibid. iii. 50—53. 60. 135, 136.

distinctions, often incurred, each in their turn, the penalty of persecution. These martyrs of religious prejudice, all the while, unconsciously advanced the cause of science. The Saracenic intellect, thus continually whetted and edged by dialectic debate, acquired a force and penetration, which needed but be exercised on substantial objects, in order to lead up to the most valuable practical results. Happily for the advancement of the human mind, the facts of nature presented, and the genius of the Saracens disposed them to lay hold of, such objects. *They* first conjoined abstract science with experiment ; and, by this happy union, did away the defects, and, in a degree wholly unprecedented, augmented the powers, of both. The foundation-stone of the new philosophy was, in this way, laid, by the direct influences of Mahometanism ; but it was reserved for the superior influences of Christianity, to carry on the intellectual structure to its just height, and complete it in its full proportions.

The providential joint agency of the two religions, the one in giving birth, and the other consummation, to the general revival and advancement of learning, has been already traced through the principal branches of human knowledge. In no department of science, however,

is their connection, in the conduct of this great work, more direct or clear, than in the modern history of logics and metaphysics. The effects of Mahometanism on these sciences, have been seen, in the rise of the Arabian scholastic theology ; and the scholastic theology of the Arabians gave origin to the Christian schoolmen. The Spaniards first carried Aristotle, and his Arabian commentators, into France * : and the illustrious inquirers, who sought out wisdom even in the schools of Mahometan Spain, introduced the philosophy taught in these schools, into other parts of Europe. The Stagyrte, at the call of Mahometanism, had, from the commencement of the ninth century, presided with despotic sway, over the philosophy and the faith of the eastern nations : he now passed into the West, under the guidance of Christianity, to erect the throne of his mental and spiritual despotism, among the nations of catholic Europe. In their scholastic theology †, the parallel between the two religions, is, in every sense, complete ; the relation here is one not of resemblance, but of

* An interesting notice of this important fact occurs in Mr. Jacob's " Travels in Spain."

† See D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Titre *Roscha*, for the derivation of the scholastic theology of the West, from Aristotle, through Averroes, Thomas Aquinas, &c. ; and *ib.* Titre *Sarig*, for its derivation from the Stagyrte through Avenpace.

identity. The Ramists and Radicalists of the Saracens, have their faithful image and reflection, in the Realists and Nominalists of the Christians. Their grounds of debate might differ, but their weapons of warfare were in common: their subtleties of logical and metaphysical conflict; their distinctions, definitions, predicaments; the whole armoury, in a word, of their doctrines and disputations, are literally one and the same in character, and applied to one and the same end, — the explication of religion. Nor can this identity be matter of surprize, when it is recollected, that Aristotle, in an Arabic version, and paraphrased by Arabian commentators, was equally the supreme guide and governor of both parties. The Christian scholastics, like the Mahometan, no sooner became subdivided into hostile sects, than they fell into diverse schisms and heresies. And the nature of the Godhead, the divine attributes, the doctrines of fate, foreknowledge, and free-will, were brought once more into discussion.*

Modern atheism and scepticism may too probably be traced to the incipient tendency of

* The doctrine of *occasional causes*, in particular, as since revived by the followers of Des Cartes, and as taught by Mallebranche, M. Brucker has clearly traced for its origin, to the Saracenic philosophy. Cf. *Hist. Phil.* tom. iii. p. 145.

opinions entertained by some among the schoolmen; especially by the noted Peter Abelard, reputed the earliest advocate of the principles now professed by the sectarists calling themselves Unitarians. At this crisis, indeed, catholic Christianity would appear to have owed its preservation, wholly to the controlling providence of God, whereby the church had become now invested with absolute power. An ecclesiastico-political despotism, was, apparently, the only arm which could have arrested the fatal progress of unbelief, in an age when the spirit of abstract speculation was without a regulator; when metaphysics moved without the drag-chain of practical science.

In the European commonwealth, however, as before in the Mahometan world, the cause of knowledge was all the while in progress. The minds of men derived edge and acumen, from the exercises of scholastic debate. In the studies of the schools, the enterprize and enthusiasm of the Saracens were gradually engrafted on the constitutional judgment and solidity of the European mind. The fruits of this union were made signally apparent, when the labours of the learned began first to be seriously directed to the cultivation of the experimental science of the Arabians.

In this field, the scholars of the West soon

surpassed their oriental instructors. The intellectual progress of the Saracens, it has been most justly remarked, originated in the combination of mathematical, logical, and experimental science.* Christian Europe received the offspring of this union, in its infancy ; in her hands, it attained its full and perfect stature. The seeds only of the experimental philosophy were sown by Mahometanism : the grain was ripened, and the harvest reaped and gathered in, beneath the fertilizing influences of the Gospel.

The false and shallow philosophy which has presumptuously attempted to arraign the wisdom of Providence, in the several steps of this entire progress, stands triumphantly confuted and convicted, by THE RESULT.† In the Saracen empire, and in catholic Europe, the subtleties of a scholastic theology equally preceded the birth of the experimental philosophy. Can it be rationally questioned, that they prepared the way for this great discovery? In both republics, we see the experimental philosophy a common consequence

* Turner.

† “ How often may it be observed in history, as in private life, that the course of events is better directed to the end desired, than if the persons most interested in the success could themselves have ordered it ! ” *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. i. p. 610.

This golden reflection, so justly and finely applied to the seemingly untoward circumstances of a military convention, is one of general application ; and belongs, with at least equal truth and justness, to other subjects, and to other times.

of intellectual progress. Can we hesitate to refer it to the earliest term in that progress, the scholastic theology, for its common cause? In fine, — to resume our great fundamental principle, — the integral connection of the Aristotelian logics and metaphysics, in every stage of their twofold revival, with the history of the Mahometan and the Christian scholastic theology, amounts to a matter-of-fact demonstration, that the world is strictly and properly indebted, for the restoration of these sciences, with all its important consequences, to the providential influences of the two opposed religions.

Even in the time of ignorance, as the Arabs term their state before the rise of Mahomet, traces may be observed of an indigenous aptness, in the Saracen genius, for the pursuit of MORAL SCIENCE.

Among the ante-Mahometan Arabians, in every age, seeds of moral truth appear to have been embodied in sentences and aphorisms; a form of instruction proverbially congenial to the temper of the Orientals, and peculiarly cultivated by the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula. These elementary indications of the national mind were early developed by the influence of the new religion. Not to notice, in this connection, the moral teaching of the Koran

itself, we find, in the sentences of the Caliph Ali*, a summary of principles and precepts, easily reducible, by an orderly arrangement, into a system of moral philosophy. The lights of the Greek philosophy, therefore, in the reign of Almamon, broke in upon a people strongly predisposed to the investigation of moral truth. In the ethics of Aristotle, the Saracens discovered a rule of action, in accordance with the first principles of their religious belief; unfolded with an order and arrangement, to which they had hitherto been strangers. Aristotle, accordingly, thenceforward, became their chosen preceptor in morals, as well as in metaphysical science. And, as his logic laid the foundation of the Arabian scholastic theology, his ethics furnished Mahometanism with a philosophy of practice and of life. From the period, accordingly, of their adoption of the peripatetic system, the ethical spirit of the Saracens appeared in its full lustre and vigour. The school of philosophy which now arose, reckoned some among its disciples, who, in practice no less than in theory, left altogether behind the low and relaxed morality of their creed. And the names of several are mentioned, who composed treatises on morals, of the most exalted character.†

But, what it most concerns us to notice, some

* See sect. v.

† Brucker, tom. iii. p. 63.

of the most illustrious names in the history of Arabian learning, rank equally high in the list of practical moralists.

Thus, it is related of Al-Farabi, that, although of noble parentage, and born to a splendid inheritance, he privately forsook his native province and his father's house, that he might dedicate his life to the study of philosophy. He withdrew to Bagdad, where he formed his mind in the school of the celebrated Mesuah, the *Christian* physician and friend of Al-Raschid. Al-Farabi studied the philosophy, not of the head only, but of the heart; and the fruits of his labours were visible, in an exemplary life. The vanity of all things earthly, the baseness of ambition, wealth, and pleasure, as objects of pursuit or attraction for an immortal mind, were the lessons he loved and taught; and his principles were illustrated and ennobled by his practice. He rejected every overture, (and they were frequent and urgent,) to draw him, from his studious retirement, to the court of the Caliph: and refused, on returning to his own country, to share the ease and luxury of the parental roof, that he might give his mind and heart, without reserve, to the search after wisdom, — to the acquirement of those possessions, which cannot be taken away, and which he esteemed the only safeguard against the ills and incommodities of life. Such was the abstinence of this

great man, that, even in the depth of winter, his couch was a pallet of straw ; such his sense of the imperfection, uncertainty, and distraction of human affairs, that a philosophic poverty seemed to him the only means left, to secure the possession and enjoyment of a tranquil mind : according to his own beautiful saying, “ Barley bread, and well water, and a coarse woollen garment, with peace, are better than raptures terminating in remorse.” *

Another example of the practical study of morals among the Arabians, may be instanced in the case of the famous Avenpace : whom a kindred philosopher has characterized, as “ approaching nearest to the truth ;” and, on the very title of whose treatise on “ The departure or withdrawal of the soul, from things earthly, to God,” is stamped the impress of a moral mind.†

But, as contemplative moralists, the palm of Mahometan ethics may deservedly be assigned to Al-Gazal‡, and to the author of the profound philosophical romance of Hai Ebn Yokdan, Ebn Thophail.

The latter, the illustrious preceptor of Averroës and Maimonides, drank deeply and enthu-

* Brucker, tom. iii. pp. 71—74.

† Ibid. iii. 92.

‡ “ He was so much honoured by his own sect, that he was called, as by his proper name, *حجة الاسلام زين الدين*, The Demonstration of Islamism, the Ornament of Religion.” Sale, *Unpublished MS.*

siastically of the ethical spirit of Aristotle. He embodied the best and purest principles of this philosopher, in his celebrated romance. The story of this elegant production (which, perhaps, prompted the conception of Beattie's "Minstrel,") represents the history of an infant left exposed to the waters of a flood, from which it was miraculously rescued: the boy is nurtured by a doe; and growing up to manhood apart from all human society, using only the inborn light of reason, Hai Ebn Yokdan gradually ascends, from the knowledge of things natural, to that of things supernatural, until he arrives at the knowledge of God himself, and of his own immortal soul; and reposes at length, in the attainment of perfect happiness, in a union with God, and in the vision of the infinite perfection of the Divine nature, seen "face to face." The originality, beauty, and moral truth, of this exquisite fable, have been warmly eulogized by the moderns. The testimony borne by Leibnitz is the most remarkable: — "This admirable volume," he exclaims, "is alone a convincing proof, that the Arabians philosophized on the Divine nature, with a sublimity no way inferior to the loftiest reaches of our best Christian philosophers themselves." *

* Brucker, tom. iii. p. 95, 96.

The moral philosophy of Al-Gazal, also imbibed in the Aristotelic school of ethics, possesses a character equally exalted and ennobling. When treating of the happiness of the soul in a future state, the meditations of this eminent moralist break forth in the following noble passage : —

“ We affirm that all utility is vile in comparison of eternal felicity ; the felicity of another life. This happiness must depend on the perfection of the soul ; which will consist of two things, — purity and ornament. To be pure, the soul must be purged from all sordid manners, and be kept from all base phantasies. In its adornment, the certainty of truth should be so depicted on it, as that divine truths may be revealed to it. The mind is a mirror, which cannot be perfect, unless the most beautiful forms are reflected in it.”

Speaking, in another place, of God, he says : —

“ He is the true and pure Being within himself ; and the origin of every other. He, therefore, is perfect, — and the most perfect. All things whatsoever have their existence from Him ; and the comparison of other beings to this Being, is as the comparison of the light of other bodies to the glory of the sun : for the sun shines by itself, and not by another illumining it. As that is the foundation of light to all lucidity, so with Him, the first Being, are the keys of all science, and

from Him proceed the wisdom and knowledge of every thinking being. He who is blessed for ever, knows all the possible and the contingent. Nothing is so small as to escape his notice. But for His comprehension, there is no comparison." From this sublime contemplation of the Deity, descending to angels and men, he writes : — " Angels are always in the contemplation of His perfections, and therefore their delight has no end. From their propinquity to the Lord of ages, their joy transcends our joy. To obey Him, to behold Him, to love Him, constitutes their glory and their felicity : — and when we shall be separated from this body by death, our enjoyment will be as perfect. That which is now hidden, will then be revealed ; our happiness will continue for ever ; we shall attain to the sublimest truths ; and we shall be the companions of the angels in their propinquity to the PRIMÆVAL TRUE ONE, not in locality merely, but in affection and beneficence."*

To offer a single observation on these golden sentences, were a wrong done to the moral judgment of the reader : it may be more appropriate to remark, that their author lived as he taught. In the meridian of his fame, as pro-

* Turner, History of England during the Middle Ages, vol. iv. p. 447, 448.

fessor of philosophy at Bagdad, Al-Gazal unexpectedly laid down his honourable office; he drew around him the poor of the city, and distributed among them the collected emoluments of his professorship; and, clothing himself in the habit of a hermit, undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, dedicating the remainder of his life, with exemplary piety, to the study and the duties of religion.*

The philosophy of Al-Gazal, indeed, in every period of his course, had been strenuously applied to the vindication of the Mahometan faith: he engaged largely in controversy, with both Jews and Christians; making the circle of knowledge, in all its rays, tributary to the interests and advancement of his religion. The remark may be extended to the Mahometan moralists generally, in the age of Saracenic learning: the illustration or defence of their theological belief, was the origin and end of their ethical, as well as of their metaphysical, science. In morals, no less than in metaphysics, consequences, far beyond any they contemplated, flowed from their indefatigable labours: but, in whatever point of view we contemplate the phenomena, the lights of Arabian learning are inseparable from the influences of Mahometanism.

* Brucker, tom. iii. p. 93, 94.

The subsequent agency of Christianity, as might well be anticipated, was still more conspicuous and efficacious in the developement, than that of Mahometanism had proved in the revival, of the principles of MORAL SCIENCE. Western Christendom, however, together with the writings of Aristotle, received the first rudiments of ethics, from the hands of the African and Spanish Saracens. In this first of human studies, the nearest in dignity to the knowledge of the true God, Aristotle was still the master of the fathers of European learning, and his Arabian commentators their guides. Nor was it merely by their versions and their comments, that the Saracens contributed to the restoration of ethics, as a science, in Christian Europe. Various original treatises on morals, composed by Al-Gazal, and by others of their most eminent philosophers, were, about the same period, translated, and perused, in the common learned language of Europe.

The providential character of the connection between the two religions, in their co-operation for the general diffusion of knowledge, is singularly strengthened, (a fact which must presently come under a more distinct notice,) by the intervention of an unlooked-for middle term ; by the agency of God's forsaken and apostate people, the proscribed and outcast Jews. This link may

be seen to much advantage, in tracing the early history of modern ethics. From the moment in which their attention was drawn to Arabian learning, the Jews applied themselves, with intense interest, to the moral and mystic philosophy of the Saracens. They translated into Hebrew some of their most approved and instructive treatises : as, for example, the work of Avenpace* on the withdrawal of the soul from things earthly, unto God ; and the Hai Ebn Yokdan of Ebn Thophail. Their translations from the Arabic into Latin were still more numerous ; so that to this medium seems owing, in great part, the introduction of the Mahometan ethics into Catholic Europe.

The fortunes of the philosophical romance of Ebn Thophail, may be selected as a specimen of the place occupied by Mahometanism, in the history of Christian ethics. This piece, for which the Jews always entertained the highest veneration, was repeatedly translated into Hebrew ; into which idiom it was first rendered by Rabbi Moses of Narbonne. The original happily escaped from the general wreck of Arabic literature, which ensued on the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. A copy fell into the hands

* " His ancestors were Hebrews." Sale, MS. cf. J. Leo. African. De Viris Illustr. ap. Arabes, cap. 15.

of the elder Pocock; who, equally captivated by the moral of the fable, and by its style, assigned to his son the task of preparing and publishing it, accompanied by a Latin version. He discussed, in a learned preface, the author and argument of the book. The story of Hai Ebn Yokdan became generally known and admired on the Continent; and was soon naturalized at home. England, it has been well remarked, has ever afforded a congenial soil for the products of moral genius: from whatever climates transplanted, they here find kindred natures, and breathe kindred air. The learned Ashwell first gave to the world this beautiful Arabian fiction in an English dress. Its mystical character so recommended it, in particular, to the Society of "Friends," that, at the desire of his community, it was translated into English a second time, by George Keith. Even this slight outline of the history of a single work, may suffice, in the way of illustration, to point out the fact, and the stages, of the undoubted connection between Mahometanism and Christianity, in the modern history of ethics.

In the introductory chapter* of this work, enough has been already advanced to indicate, generally, the place held by the Arabians in the history of the EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY; and

* See Introduction, especially pp. 50—54.

to show the dependence of this prolific source of knowledge, the parent of all our great modern improvements, on the proper and peculiar influences of the Mahometan religion. It has been there correctly stated, that to “them we are indebted for the revival of natural, and for the rise of experimental philosophy.”* It may here be added, that the rise of the science of experiment among the Saracens, was wholly owing to their restoration of that of physics. The object at present in view, is to apportion to Christianity and Mahometanism their rightful shares, in the invention and application of this master-key to all the sciences; by tracing briefly the leading steps of that progress, from practical experiments to experimental principles, which connects the illustrious names of Avicenna and Averroes, with the still more illustrious merits of the two Bacons and of Boyle.

The physics of Aristotle, it has been shown under a former head, were the foundation, on which the Saracens erected their school of natural philosophy. After his example, they studied the facts of nature: but, hurried on by the native enthusiasm of their genius, exercising itself in a congenial pursuit, they soon altogether outstripped their preceptor, in the extent, variety,

* Turner.

and correctness of their experiments. The discovery of the science of chemistry, and the consequent improvement of the art of medicine, supplied facilities for the enlargement of their physical knowledge, which comparatively reduced to a state of infancy, the best physical knowledge of Aristotle and of the Greeks.

The Saracens were not a people to converse long with facts, without employing them in the service of reason. It does not appear, indeed, that they formally generalized their experiments; deduced from them rules of philosophizing; or laid down systematized principles of induction. But what they omitted in form, they did in fact. They meditated, they reasoned, they acted, on their experiments. And, by the intimacy and correctness of their acquaintance with physical phenomena, they drew from them, in frequent instances, unconsciously, perhaps, to themselves, the justest philosophical conclusions.

The generic character of these sages has been drawn by the pen of Mr. Sharon Turner: what cannot be done better, and could hardly be done so well, it is but common justice to the subject to produce, in the language of a master. — “ The Arab philosophers were men, who combined with an acuteness and activity of mind that has never been surpassed, all the knowledge which industry

could then attain. What they knew, they knew thoroughly; they reasoned with subtlety, but they made their knowledge the foundation of their logic. There is a clearness, a penetration, an information, and a correctness about their reasoning, which spreads a brightness over every subject they handle. To the patient investigation of the Alexandrian mathematicians, they united the active subtlety of the Grecian sophists; but poured, at the same time, from their discursive intellects, all the natural information which their chemical and mineralogical researches could then supply. They refused no labour in the acquisition of knowledge, or the discovery of truth; and it was this combination of mathematic, logical, and experimental mind, which so rapidly improved themselves, and from them has so highly exalted the intellect of Europe. They were true philosophers. They loved intellectual pursuits, from an intense feeling of their excellence. They believed the perfection of the human nature to rest in these; and they struggled, unwearied, to attain them.—They were superior to the Greeks, by combining their logic and metaphysics *with experimental philosophy*; and for the nobler religious principles which some of them infused into their reasonings.” *

* History of England during the Middle Ages, vol. iv.

It is not, however, alone from the writings of the Saracen philosophers, but from the effects, also, of those writings on their European contemporaries, that we learn to appreciate their labours at the real value ; — to understand the progress which they had silently made in the philosophy of physics, from *facts* to *principles*, from *experiments* to *laws*. The greatest men do not advance greatly beyond their age ; the greatest discoveries have their origin and groundwork in the previous studies and pursuits of the inventors. When, therefore, we find the true principle of the experimental philosophy, the great discovery of the moderns, unfolded in England by contemporary genius, and that genius originally formed in the school of the Saracens, there is no room left for doubt, as to the source of its inspiration.

Such is the position occupied by the celebrated Roger Bacon. He was strictly and properly an experimentalist of the Saracenic school : in his works, and especially in his *Opus Majus*, he continually adduces his Arabian masters ; placing their authority on a par even with that of Aristotle. His discoveries, it follows, are an index to the true state and progress of experimental science among the Arabians. Now Friar Bacon was the undoubted, though unowned, original,

whence his great namesake drew the materials of his famous experimental system. In the *Opus Majus*, and in the *Novum Organum*, we find, again and again, the fundamental laws of this system announced; uniformly the same in substance, often in the same words. If the reader will please to consult both works, for “the general causes of ignorance,” he can hardly fail to be impressed, by the coincidence observable in the equal number, and parallel character, of the causes assigned by these two great writers. ‘Roger Bacon instructs us, that “experimental science lords it over the other sciences, as its handmaids; and, therefore, the whole power and propriety of speculative wisdom is especially attributed to that science.†” Lord Bacon pronounces, that “mathematics and logic ought to deport themselves as the handmaids of physics (or experimental philosophy), in place of presuming, as they do, to domineer over that science. | —

* General causes of ignorance.

Roger Bacon.

Lord Bacon.

1. Fragilis et indignæ auctoritatis exemplum.
2. Consuetudinis diuturnitas.
3. Vulgi sensus imperiti.
4. Propriæ ignorantiae occultatio, cum ostentatione sapientiæ apparentis.

1. Idola tribus.
2. Idola specus.
3. Idola fori.
4. Idola theatri.

† “*Scientia experimentalis impetrat aliis scientiis, sicut ancillis suis,*

‡ “*Mathematica et logica, quæ ancillarum loco erga physicam*

“The rest of the sciences,” the former observes, “arrive at the discovery of their principles, by experiments; but at conclusions, by arguments formed from the principles thus experimentally discovered.”* And again:—“If we give ourselves to experiences, at the same time, particular, and complete, and certified at every point by the rules of a proper discipline, we must proceed by considerations drawn from that science, which is distinguished by the title of the experimental.” Of the experimental philosophy, the latter remarks, that “it extracts axioms from particulars, by ascending consecutively and gradually, in order that it may arrive, in the end, at the broadest generalities.”† Again, that this science

et ideo tota sapientiæ *speculativæ* proprietas *isti scientiæ* specialiter attribuitur.” Op. Maj. p. 476. ed. Jebb.

* “*Scientiæ aliæ sciunt sua principia invenire per experimenta; sed conclusiones per argumenta facta ex principis inventis.*” Op. Maj. p. 448.

“Si attendamus ad experientias *particulares*, et completas, et omnino in propria disciplina certificatas, necessarium est ire per considerationes *scientiæ experimentalis*. Ibid.

se gerere debeant, —

dominatum contra exercere præsumant.” Bacon’s Works, vol. vii. p. 204.

† “A sensu et *particularibus* excitat *axiomata* ‡ ascendendo continenter et gradatim, ut ultimo loco perveniatur ad *maxime generalia*; quæ via vera est, *sed intentata.*” Nov. Org. § 4.

‡ With Lord Bacon, *axiomata* and *principia*, are synonymous terms. See Nov. Org. § 104. p. 53.

must proceed by ascent and descent, — “by ascending first from particulars to axioms, and thence descending to practical operations.” Much closer verbal coincidences might be adduced: but in these passages we have the true germ of the Baconian philosophy; and as definitely exhibited by Roger Bacon, as by Sir Francis. Yet the concluding assertion of Lord Bacon is, — “This is the true, but *untried* method!” *

* “*Via vera est, sed intentata.*” The correctness of the unqualified assertion shall be left to the judgment of the reader, after perusal of the principle of philosophizing laid down by Friar Bacon, in his doctrine “*De secunda prerogativa scientiæ experimentalis.*” These are his memorable words: — “*Veritates magnificas in terminis aliarum scientiarum, in quas per nullam viam possunt illæ scientiæ, hæc sola scientiarum domina speculativarum potest dare, &c. Et possunt poni exempla manifesta de his; sed in istis omnibus quæ sequuntur, non oportet hominem inexpertum quærere rationem ut primo intelligat, hanc enim nunquam habebit, nisi prius habeat experientiam; unde oportet primo credulitatem fieri, donec secundo sequatur experientia, ut tertio ratio comitetur.*” Op. Maj. p. 465.

Of this *via vera*, Roger Bacon, indeed, most truly says, that “*Nec Aristoteles, nec Avicenna, in suis naturalibus, hujusmodi rerum notitiam nobis dederunt; nec Seneca, qui de eis librum composuit specialiter; sed scientia experimentalis ista certificat.*” (p. 448.) But how his illustrious relative and follower could, with the *Opus Majus* before him, term it *via intentata*, it might seem difficult for Lord Bacon himself satisfactorily to explain.

If by *untried*, Lord Bacon meant *not practically generalized*, he claims but what is his undeniable and undivided due, — the *developement* and *promulgation*, of the experimental system of philosophy. But is its *invention* a matter of minor interest? Or is it becoming, is it honourable in the *promulgator*, to pass over in silence the kindred merits of the *inventor*? For, if the graduated and continuous ascent, from *particulars* to *generals*, from *facts* to *inductions*, from *practical experiments* to *abstract reasonings and conclusions*, — if the application, in a word, of *experimental science*, as the

The expression is rendered more remarkable, by the fact, that Lord Bacon, through his whole works, makes but a single mention of his illustrious precursor, and that *not* in connection with his experimental system. The omission is not well: not to mention moral considerations, it might deservedly bring into suspicion the originality of a writer less original than Lord Bacon; but him it could not so affect, for his genius was, in every thing, supreme. The due acknowledgment, however, of his debt to Roger Bacon, must have raised, instead of lowering, his unrivalled merits. He found the philosophy of his great namesake a dead letter, and he breathed into it the breath of life. He, first, adjusted and graduated the laws of experiment; defined the just steps of the ascending and descending scales, by which the mind was to proceed,

master-key to all other sciences, as that which alone “*veritates magnificas in terminis aliarum scientiarum potest dare*,”—if this be the root and germ of the Baconian system, then is the palm of discovery an honour due, not to Sir Francis, but to Roger Bacon. So far, however, is Lord Chancellor Bacon from noticing the prior claim, that he will not allow of *any advance* having been made, before his own time and labours, on the Grecian school of philosophy! Whereas the chief, perhaps the only, difference between the illustrious relatives, was this, that Roger Bacon struck the true chord, at a period when the instrument was not yet in tune; while his more favoured disciple found the mechanism perfect, and when he struck, the harmony was every where heard and felt, and the voice of Europe responded to the sound.

through the medium of experiments, to sure axioms, and, by sure axioms, to sound and legitimate conclusions. In a word, he defined the vital distinctions, between the imperfect and the perfect method, of an analytic scheme of reasoning. Within the grasp of his gigantic genius, the collected streams of knowledge which flowed in upon Europe at the general revival of letters, compressed into a single channel, were brought to bear on his project for the advancement of learning. The vast superstructure is his own. But his fundamental principle (the reflection is a painful one) was taken, without acknowledgment, from the unpublished *Opus Majus*.⁴ The matter of fact may be verified, by every reader who will be at the pains to collate the concluding treatise of that work, the treatise on experimental science, with the parallel passages of Lord Bacon.⁵

Nor is the coincidence confined to the fundamental principle : it comprizes also some of the most important deductions of the experimental philosophy. The experiments, for example, on the rainbow, as described in the *Opus Majus*, seem to comply with every rule of analysis laid down by Verulam ; and to be, in the proper sense, an exemplification of the luciferous rather

than the fructiferous, order of experiments. Again, we find in the *Opus*, the Baconian law of experiments, which transfers the reasonings of experimental science, to the resolution of the most important truths in all the other sciences. Both authors, in fine, agree in requiring, as the only introductory passport to the true philosophy, implicit faith, teachableness, and the spirit of a little child.

The inventions of Lord Bacon and of Roger Bacon were, therefore, in essence, the same. But the genius of Roger Bacon, though he too seems to disclaim the admission of predecessors in his great discovery, was undoubtedly kindled and fed at the fountain of Saracenic illumination. If he was the first, formally to announce to the world the principle of the experimental philosophy, — that principle, on the other hand, was first presented to his own mind, through the medium of accumulated facts and experiments, collected by the patient and penetrating genius of his Arabian masters. Thus, by the influences of Mahometanism, was the impulse originally given, whether directly or indirectly matters little, which the influences of Christianity, in the person of an ecclesiastic, made eventually instrumental to the creation of a law of philo-

sophy, which, in its progressive consequences, bids fair to perfect the illumination of the human mind.

LITERATURE is the only department of human knowledge, in which it remains for us, to examine and estimate the common and comparative effects of Mahometanism and Christianity.

Two branches of polite letters were chiefly cultivated by the Saracens; Poetry and Romance. Both were in use among the Arabs, long before the time of Mahomet; and, if we may judge by the undoubted antiquity of a single piece, one of these branches, the romance, would seem to have been a native growth of the Arabian peninsula. The Moallakat, and other remains of ante-Mahometan antiquity, attest what is said in the Mahometan traditions, respecting the genius of the Saracens for poetry. The ante-Mahometan romance of Antar, a production original in its kind, and of extraordinary perfectness and power, strongly supports the claim of Arabia to the invention, and communication to Europe, of the romance style of writing. Antar, in point of date, if we descend even from the unknown period of its origin, to its publication in the reign of the Caliph Al Raschid, certainly precedes all European specimens of the romance now extant.* It is

* The *Ethiopica* of Heliodorus, and other specimens of the same class, have no affinity to the romance properly so called.

the only specimen of the style existing in the world, before the tenth century, complete in the form and characters proper to the romance. When, therefore, the pretensions of the Bretons and Anglo-Normans are set up, it should be recollected, that we set up the rude and ill-traced relics of Northman barbarism, against the evidence of a perfect and prior model of the genuine romance.

The tenacity of national manners ingrained in the character of the Saracens, affords an assurance stronger than any reasonings, that the propagation of their native poetry and romance must have kept pace with that of the Arabian empire and idiom. In the generous countenance extended to letters, by the Abbassides and Ommiades, in the eighth century, these favourite studies of the primitive Arabians were by no means forgotten. They flourished, with equal honours and rewards, under the former dynasty in Asia, and under the latter in Spain. In the perpetual intercourse of peace and war, the transit of these lighter studies was easy, and, from their popular nature, would be early, from Saracen into Christian Spain. Accordingly, before the eleventh century of the Christian era, the poetical romances of the Spanish Saracens appear to have kindled a spirit,

which soon crossed the interjacent kingdoms, to strike root and flourish in the South of France. The Moorish origin of the old Spanish literature is supported by an accumulation of evidence. The oriental sententiousness of the style, the glowing and heroic enthusiasm of the narrative, with the entire subjects and details of the original stories, unite in bearing witness to the primitive derivation of the Spanish romances, from the contact of the Christian Spaniards with the Moors. While the existence of Moorish romances of the same character, in the original Arabic, gives to these internal marks a full, and it ought to be presumed, a conclusive confirmation. The Arabian origin of their art may be seen, hardly less distinctly, in the songs and ballads of the southern troubadours and provençals. The contagion spread, with the enlargement of the general collision between the antagonist creeds. During the era of the crusades, the spirit of chivalry, first caught by Christian Europe from the Saracens, found a congenial food in their heroic poetry and chivalrous romance.* The infection

* In his interesting notice of the "illustrious name of ARTHUR, the hereditary prince of the Silures," Mr. Gibbon has given the true origin of the romance:—"Pilgrimage, and the holy wars, introduced into Europe the specious miracles of Arabian magic. Fairies and giants, flying dragons and enchanted palaces, were blended with the more simple fictions of the West; and the fate of Britain depended on the art, or the predictions, of Merlin. Every nation embraced and adorned the popular romance of Arthur, and

thus (happily for the cause of good manners, the natural companions of good morals) imbibed in Palestine, was carried by the returning crusaders into Italy, and thence became gradually diffused over the West. But it was especially in the soil of the flourishing Italian states, that these first seeds of refinement struck deep root. The rude measures, and barbarous sounds, of the *volgare*, were now subdued into the regular form and cadence of exact composition. The romance, as well as the ballad, at the same time, came insensibly to be regulated by the laws of dramatic effect. The silent progress went on, until, in the thirteenth century, the matured fruit of these apparently light and trivial studies suddenly disclosed their full-grown perfection, in the rise of the classical prose style of modern Italy, and in the immortal verse of Dante.*

the Knights of the Round Table; their names were celebrated in Greece and Italy; and the voluminous tales of Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram were devoutly studied by the princes and nobles, who disregarded the genuine heroes and historians of antiquity. At length, the light of science and reason was re-kindled; the talisman was broken; the visionary fabric melted into air; and, by a natural, though unjust, reverse of the public opinion, the severity of the present age is inclined to question the existence of Arthur." Decl. and Fall, vol. vi. p. 392.

The existence of Arthur, Mr. Gibbon rests on "the simple and circumstantial testimony of Nennius." For the progress of romance, in the middle ages, he refers his readers to the two dissertations prefixed to Warton's History of English Poetry. On the latter subject, great light has been thrown since his time; Warton's book, especially, has had valuable accessions, in the late excellent edition.

* See Heeren, p. 439.

The subsequent productions of Italian genius, especially the extravagant flights of Boiardo and Ariosto, may serve to show how deeply Italy was, from the first, imbued with the Saracenic literature. But the contagion of this literature was universal. In the thirteenth century, the rhymes and romances of France and Italy were already popularized in England. In the ruder age of our annals, the muse of Chaucer was indirectly kindled by the genius of Arabia; in their proudest day, the inspirations of that genius may be read and felt, in the works of Spencer, of Shakspeare, and of Milton, — some of the most perfect monuments, that human genius ever bequeathed to the admiration of mankind. Milton, in particular, drank deep, at the fountain-head of that Italian literature, which bears the clearest tokens of having emanated from the Saracen; a well-known fact, which, in no inconsiderable degree, connects the “Paradise Lost” with the mental influences of Mahometanism.

From the view which has been taken, in the present section, of the parallel influences of Mahometanism and Christianity, on arts, sciences, philosophy, and literature, we may now advantageously pass to the consideration of some particulars in the means, or, if the expression be allowable, the machinery of Providence, by

which, more immediately, the intellectual stores acquired by the followers of Mahomet, were transferred to the disciples of Christ and the Gospel. In the earlier stages of Saracenic improvement, their mutual hatred and hostility must have precluded any considerable peaceful intercourse between Mahometans and Christians: nor, prior to the crusades, was Western Christendom in a position to reap even the benefits of hostile communication, with Mahometan light and refinement. Judging from the nature of the difficulty, Divine Providence would appear the only power competent, by a special interference, to provide, at this crisis, a suitable middle term: and the Christian reader will not fail to recognize the finger of Divine Providence in the appointment, when he finds the requisite medium provided, by the introduction of the JEWS.

This miraculous people, the wonder of the world, equally in their rise, and in their unparalleled reverses, had long languished under the yoke of the Christian empires, in the East and West. After the fall of the eastern empire before the arms of the Saracens, the Jews of Asia, for a time, suffered heavy persecution. At the very period, however, in which they were most oppressed by the bigotry of the Asiatic caliphs,

a door of escape was opened for them, by the wise and enlarged policy of the princes of the house of Ommiah, in Spain. In the Spanish peninsula, indeed, from the period of its first reduction, in which they largely assisted, the Jews had experienced, from the Saracen conquerors, special protection and countenance. Made aware by experience, of the importance of these colonists to the prosperity of the state, the first Abderahmans gladly invited their suffering brethren, to emigrate from Syria into Spain. The summons was joyfully obeyed: the emigrations were many and large; in one instance, the numbers amounted to fifty thousand Syrian Jews. The expectations of their benefactors were not disappointed. The Jews, thenceforward, exclusively possessed the commerce of the peninsula: and Spain, through their instrumentality, soon acquired a monopoly of the chief commerce of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Under a higher superintendence, the Spanish Jews, it appears, had a nobler function appointed them to discharge. In their new-found prosperity, they manifested, once more, some traces of that mental and moral dignity, which had belonged to their character, as the chosen people of God; and which, however forfeited by long apostasy, and obscured by many mis-

fortunes, had not then, and as yet never have, been altogether effaced. They now betook themselves, with all the zeal of novices, to the study of the Arabian and Aristotelic philosophy. From the age of Honain, to that of Maimonides, their most celebrated Rabbins formed their minds and manners in this school. And, by a singular and mysterious Providence, it was so ordered, in the event, that the forsaken offspring of Isaac, recovered, for a season, from the extremity of their shame, were raised socially, mentally, and morally, by the hand of the descendants of Ishmael, and by the fostering influences of Mahometanism : — were raised, in the critical hour, — the birth-day of the first general revival of letters, to become instruments, in the hands of an over-ruling power, (and they were then, in virtue of the very curse under which they laboured, and which rendered them restless wanderers upon the earth, the sole adequate and capable instruments,) for conveying over Western Christendom, the early lights of Arabian science and philosophy.* — A dispensation of Providence, in which, “in the midst of wrath,” God appears as though “still remembering mercy ;”

* “The sciences cultivated by the Arabians, were introduced into Europe, by the Moors settled in Spain and Portugal, and by the Jews, who were very numerous in both these kingdoms.” Robertson’s *Hist. of America*, vol. i. p. 59.

as though, in thus suffering his fallen people to be still employed for good, he would give a silent pledge, that he will never utterly “leave them, nor forsake them.”

The peculiar fitness of the outcast Jews for this providential function, it is impossible for us Christians to survey, without wonder and adoration. Bound together by the strongest of human ties, the community of misfortune; dispersed every where throughout the world, yet every where united; — the Jews maintained, at once, an universal contact with other nations, and the strictest intercommunity within themselves. Their commercial enterprize, in an age when they were almost the sole commercial people, conciliated the politic favour of the Mahometan princes, and compelled the reluctant toleration of the feudal despots of Europe. It was among a people, thus exclusively qualified for disseminating whatever they adopted, that the science and philosophy of the Saracens first became objects of interest and study.*

* It was, as Doctor Robertson informs us, through the medium of *the Jews of Spain*, that “geometry, astronomy, and geography, the sciences on which the art of navigation is founded, became objects of studious attention.” *History of America*, vol. i. p. 59.

The providential agency of this extraordinary people appears, therefore, not only in facilitating and furthering the advancement of Europe, but in contributing to the discovery of America. Accordingly, we find the illustrious Don Henry, in the infancy of his great projects, consulting with “the Jews settled in Portugal;” his grand-nephew, King John, dispatch-

Fanatically wedded to a fallen faith, like the Mahometans to a false one, the Jews, after their example, found and took refuge in philosophy, from the defectiveness of the Mosaic law, and the absurdities of their vain traditions. The spirit of intellectual investigation once awakened, their national character insured unwearied diligence and perseverance. They read, they rendered, they commented on, their Arabian masters. They cultivated, with equal and emulous zeal, the sciences of experimental philosophy, metaphysics, and morals. They even consulted, and copied after, the poetry of the Saracens. And from this time forward, to the epoch of the crusades, we observe the Jews converted into the mental, as well as commercial, carriers of the world.

If the intervention of a Providence be not denied in every case, it must be admitted here. None other but a race like this, without a country, and without a home; at once in enmity and alliance

ing Portuguese Jews to Egypt, in order that they might meet and direct his emissaries, on their return from an over-land expedition of inquiry into India; and Ferdinand the Catholic, of Spain, appointing "two Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, *whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind*," his commissioners, in consort with the Bishop of Ceuta, to confer with Columbus, on the subject of his project for the discovery of a new world. Compare Robertson, *ut suprà*. pp. 62. 79, 80. 96, 97. Such, in a word, at this period, was the superior science of the Jews, that it exacted deference from their very persecutors; and triumphed even over the dark prejudices of Spanish intolerance!

with every other nation, and at unity within itself; devoted alike to the cause of their religion, and to the thirst of gain, — but ready to compromise religious prejudice itself through “the love of money *;” alternately drawn by avarice, and driven by persecution, “to and fro throughout the earth;” — and inoculated, lastly, with the true passion of literary enthusiasm; — none but such a people, could, from the eighth century inclusive to the era of the holy wars, have opened and maintained an intellectual interchange, between western Christendom, and the Mahometan world. No conceivable instrumentality, save one like this, could have effected the momentous object. And the solitary instance of such an instrumentality existing among men, brings us, once more, to the seed of Abraham; and again conducts us to the twofold promises of God. At this extraordinary juncture it is, that we see the covenants of Isaac and Ishmael united, for the one great providential end: and Mahometanism, Judaism, and Christianity, standing forth together, the joint enlighteners of the world.

The analogous influences of the two covenants

* It was surely not without reference to the besetting sin of his unhappy countrymen, that Saint Paul wrote those awful words, — *Πίζα γὰρ παντῶν τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία.* 1 Tim. vii. 10.

on the restoration of learning, and their providential connection and co-operation throughout that restoration, have been traced through the circle of human knowledge. A distinct order of proof, embracing both the certainty of this connection, and its strictly providential character, remains to be pointed out, in the similar *apparatus*, by which Mahometanism and Christianity, in their turns, effected the intellectual advancement of the world.

After the establishment of their religion, and in strict alliance with it, the earliest and most universal care of the Saracens was directed to the institution of PUBLIC SCHOOLS. The high antiquity of such establishments in their Asiatic dominions, may be learnt from the single fact, that, before the middle of the eighth century, numerous seminaries were founded and endowed, at the charge of the state, in the newly-conquered province of Spain, under Ocba Ebn Al Heyaz, its first emir.* These foundations were originally instituted for the advancement of the Mahometan religion, through the medium of the Koran; the study of which was, at first, almost the exclusive object. But the mental progress of the Saracens, once set in motion, was not to be arrested; and schools of science and philosophy every where

* Hist. des Arabes en Espagne, tom. i. p. 146.

sprang up, as by some enchantment, from these seminaries of religion. As the circle of reviving science spread, from schools arose COLLEGES, and from colleges UNIVERSITIES, over the vast circuit of the Saracen empire, in Asia, Africa, and Spain. Bagdad and Bassora, in the East; Alexandria and Cairo, in Egypt; Cairoan, Fez, and Morocco, in the region of Mauritania, — were all the seats of famous universities *, under the rule of this wonderful people : of whom it is honourably recorded, as a double praise, that they never made a conquest, without laying, at the same time, the foundations of a city † ; and never erected a mosque, without adding to it a public school. ‡

The facts of the case are undoubted and acknowledged : but, though much adverted to in general terms, the actual state and importance of the primitive Saracen universities, is, at the present day, probably little known. Some particulars, by way of specimen, may, therefore, not be out of place.

* “ Collegia Orientalium structa sunt, ut sunt Fundegi, vel Chani nationum Europæarum in Oriente negotiantium ; — vel, ut aptiore comparatione utar, sunt, ut olim fuerunt Collegia nostra, *et adhuc sunt Collegia varia OXONII et CANTABRIGIÆ*. Doctores et discipuli simul in eodem ambitu cohabitant, per cellas distributi.” Reisk. Adnot. Historic. Abulfed. Ann. Musl. tom. iii. p. 673.

† Oelsner, Effets de la Relig. de Mohamm. p. 78.

‡ Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. tom. iii. p. 29, 30.

The university of Bagdad *, in the beginning of the twelfth century, contained a body of six thousand students; possessed endowed professorships in every branch of learning; and reckoned in the number of its professors (as the name of Al Gazal may suffice to testify †), the most illustrious philosophers of the age. Nearly at the same period, Benjamin of Tudela, an impartial eye-witness, describes that of Alexandria, as a magnificent structure, sustained or adorned by lines of marble columns, and comprizing no fewer than twenty colleges; then the resort of the learned, from all quarters of the world. Under the rule of the Mamelukes, Cairo still abounded with colleges, of hardly inferior extent and splendour. The scale of these structures may be learnt from Leo Africanus ‡, who describes one of them, the celebrated college of Sultan Hasan, as sufficiently strong and spacious, to be occupied as a citadel by the rebel forces, in a period of insurrection. The universities of

* For the sister foundation in the West, the university of Cordova, see Oelsner, p. 154.

† Abulfed. *Annal. Muslem.* tom. iii. pp. 374—377. Al Gazal was professor of theology in the college Al Nadhamat, so called after its founder, the illustrious Nadham-al-Molk, Vizir to Alp Arslan, and to Malec Shah. *Ibid.* pp. 206. 304. *conf.* Colleges were erected in various cities of the empire, by the munificence of this virtuous and venerable statesman. *Ibid.* p. 282. Compare *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. p. 43.

‡ P. 104. ap. Brucker, tom. ii. p. 45.

Egypt, like those of Syria and the East, boasted of famed professors, and enjoyed ample endowments, under every successive dynasty ; until the intrusion of the barbarous Ottomans. But the Egyptian universities, according to the same author, appear to have been altogether surpassed, by the matchless magnificence of those of Mauritania. The thirty halls of the royal academy of Morocco *, its numerous professorships, its exquisitely-wrought walls and cielings, resplendent, on all sides, with lapis lazuli, and with coloured stones and crystals, its marble fountains, and twisted pillars, — seem to have filled the mind of Leo with mingled astonishment and admiration. Even these splendours were outdone, by those of the neighbouring colleges of Fez : whose numerous edifices, constructed of the purest marble, the walls rich with Mosaic-work, and the roofs with carvings, — some containing more than a hundred apartments, — with their long covered galleries, supported by octagonal columns of coloured marbles, the arches between, wrought in mosaic-work of gold and azure, — their brazen gates, and doors of carved or inlaid wood-work, their finely-sculptured oratories, and, in one instance, the very steps of the pulpit formed of

* “ Qui in hoc collegium recipiebantur, his dabatur victus atque vestitus.” Leo, ap. Brucker, tom. iii.

ivory and ebony, — these embellishments bore witness to an extent of munificence, which set cost utterly at defiance. The expenditure on a single college, that of Abu Haru, may serve as an index to the costliness of the rest: it amounted, according to the information of Leo, to four hundred and eighty thousand pieces of gold.*

Such details are by no means without importance, in the argument of the present work. Whatever were the merits or demerits of the Saracenic schools of learning, it hence unequivocally appears, that, among the Saracens, learning was the ruling passion and pursuit, and that the hearts of prince and people went together in the great work. And, even in the mechanical apparatus of literature, the extent and quality of the supply, gives a just measure for the nature and amount of the demand.

The tide of intellectual improvement, after a time, began strongly to set towards Europe. From the epoch of the elevation of Abde-rahman I., to the Spanish Caliphate, there was a growing influx of learned men, and of their sure accompaniment, good letters, into Spain, from the universities of Asia and Africa. Similar foundations were erected and multiplied,

* At Bagdad, the college of Al Nadhamat was founded at the expence of two hundred thousand pieces of gold; and endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars.

in the cities of the peninsula. In the Spanish schools, colleges, and universities, France, on the one hand, and Italy, on the other, had, placed before their eyes, models which the awakening energies of European intellect were not slow to imitate. The universities of Bologna, Padua, and Paris, their whole course of studies bearing the marks and traces of their Saracenic origin, first arose ; and were followed and copied after, by other continental nations. In a word, the whole educational apparatus, which, under Mahometanism, fostered and forwarded the first general revival of learning, — transferred, through the agency of Spain, to Catholic Europe, came into play under Christianity, to produce and perfect, in the West, the second restoration of the human mind. The derivation of the chief continental universities from Saracenic models, has been inferred from their entire course of studies. For the completion of the proof, it is merely necessary to subjoin, that two of the earliest and most celebrated, the universities of Padua and Paris, were founded, — the former, only towards the end of the twelfth, the latter, not before the middle of the thirteenth century ; and that, while the university of Bagdad, which existed in the eighth, numbered within its walls, in the eleventh century, six thousand students, — in the year of

our Lord 1256, the college of the Sorbonne, founded by the confessor and friend of Saint Louis, and then the sole foundation of the afterwards famous university of Paris, consisted but of a charitable endowment, for the institution and support of sixteen poor students in theology!

The modern history of PUBLIC LIBRARIES may be adduced as our concluding example, in illustration of the common apparatus, employed in the two grand revivals of learning; and of the debt unquestionably owing, on this score, by Western Christendom to the Mahometan world. Whether Amrou and his fanatical warriors be justly chargeable, or not, with the destruction of the Alexandrine library, certain it is, that, from the first dawn of Saracenic literature, both in the East and in the West, the magnificence of the Caliphs was not more zealously or boundlessly directed to any objects, than to the collection of manuscripts; the multiplication of copies, versions, and commentaries; and the formation, lastly, of public libraries. The indefatigable energy, and more than royal expenditure, devoted to this great purpose by the illustrious Al-mamon, have, from the age of the Abbassides to the present day, been the theme, the praise, and the wonder, of the learned world. The form-

ation of libraries is obviously the groundwork of the whole mechanical superstructure, for the advancement of knowledge : and at no period in the subsequent annals, no place, almost, in the wide dominions, of the Saracens, was the spring relaxed, which had been first given, in this fundamental department of letters, by Alnamon.

The Mahometan princes of Spain, Barbary, and Egypt *, emulated the princely spirit of the Abbassides, both in the pains, and in the cost, bestowed in forming collections, and founding libraries †, for the benefit of their subjects, and the enlargement of the boundaries of science.

The description of the labours of Al Hakem, the second of the name, and the fifth of the Spanish Ommiades, in the collection and arrangement of the royal library at Cordova, as given in an important work, recently published in France from original authorities ‡, conveys an idea of the state of this art, among the Arabians, in the tenth century, which may well moderate the pretensions of the most scientific modern

* A. D. 1117, as Macrizi relates, Saladin found in the royal treasury at Cairo, “ *Bibliothecam voluminum centum mille, elegantissime scriptorum et compactorum* ;” a collection esteemed among their choicest jewels, by the Fatimite caliphs. Cf. *Hist. Patr. Alexandr.* p. 526. ap. *Rer. Arab. Collect.* p. 235. Panormi, 1790.

† “ Above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom.” *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. p. 44.

‡ *Histoire de la Domination des Arabes en Espagne.*

collector. Even in the life-time of his father, the great Abderahman, Al Hakem maintained agents in Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Persia, whose sole office it was to purchase for their royal master the best books in every branch of learning. Men of letters, from all countries, frequented his palace of Mervan; and these also he engaged, by the most liberal promises and rewards, to procure for him copies of the most rare, curious, or instructive works, within their reach or knowledge. He wrote himself to all the more distinguished authors of the age, desiring copies of their works, for which he paid with his wonted generosity. At the same time, he employed the most accomplished copyists to transcribe for him such books of price, as he could not otherwise obtain. In the arrangement and classification, of the splendid collection formed by these worthy arts, Al Hakem displayed no less taste and judgment, than he had before discovered zeal and munificence, in their acquisition. With his own hand, he catalogued and classed his library; which was skilfully subdivided into various compartments, each several compartment containing the books which treated on some particular science. Each book-case, each shelf, was furnished with its table of contents; and these particular tables, again, were incorporated into

one general catalogue ; which, according to Ebn Hayan, a contemporary writer, in its unfinished state, occupied forty-four volumes, of fifty pages each. In this seemingly and scientific order, was disposed the royal library of Cordova ; a collection, which, in the reign of Al Hakem II., already comprized all the standard treatises on the arts and sciences ; all the then known works on eloquence or poetry ; and a rich accumulation of histories, both ancient and contemporary.⁶

The noble spirit of Al Hakem, pre-existed, it has been remarked, in the example of the African sultans ; it survived, to the decline and downfall of the Saracen empire itself, both in them, and in his successors, the Omniades of Spain. Even in the last ruin of their empire, sufficient relics remained, to verify the accounts given by Arabian authors, of the ancient magnitude and magnificence of the Saracen collections. The remains of the great library of Fez*, still preserved in the Escorial, and forming the most valuable portion of its oriental treasures, is

* “ *In unâ Fesanâ Bibliothecâ, triginta duo millia voluminum Arabicorum asservari, Erpenius, ex testibus oculatis, et fide dignissimis, retulit. Item, apud eos reperiri, quæ apud nos desiderantur, scriptorum monumenta, Titu Livi libros omnes, Pappi Alexandrini Mathematici, Hippocratis, Galeni, et aliorum.*” Lomierus *De Bibliothecis*, p. 342.

Yet, if we credit Mr. Gibbon, “there is *no* example of a poet, an orator, or even an *historian*, being taught to speak the language of the Saracens. — The heroes of Plutarch and *Lwy* were buried in oblivion.” *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. p. 50.

a living witness to the character, in its uninjured integrity, of an African library, — as it passed, by lot or agreement, into the hands of the Spaniards, after the capture of that metropolis by the French, under Saint Louis. In placing these remains in the palace of the Escorial*, Philip II., for once, was guilty of a virtue: but the work of the destroyer had ere this been too well done: in the person of the illustrious Ximenes, the genius of Romish intolerance had impelled the loftiest spirit of his age to consign ruthlessly to the flames “the labours of the philosophers, mathematicians, and poets of Cordova; the literature of a splendid dynasty of seven hundred years.”

The fact, that Europe borrowed from the Saracens the institution of her public libraries, that Christianity owes to Mahometanism, among so many intellectual obligations, this inappreciable debt, — is, perhaps, the best-ascertained particular in the history of the revival of letters. It was on his return from the African expedition, “at the sight,” says an accomplished French writer, “of the numerous libraries which the

* “Ante aliquot annos, Nearcha quidam Massiliensis Arabicam Regis Mauritanie Bibliothecam in Hispaniam avexit; et Bibliothecæ Regis Hispanie inseruit circa Annum Christi 1610: constabat, teste Regis Mauritanie legato, septem millibus et octingentis elegantissimis voluminibus.” Lomier. De Bibliothec. p. 342, 343.

Arab princes had amassed, and consecrated to the public service, that Saint Louis first conceived the resolve, to form a similar establishment in France." Thus, that nothing might be wanting to the compass of our obligations, — to Mahometanism and its influences are we directly indebted for the foundation of the king's library at Paris ; and in it, for the original model of all the great public libraries of Europe. *

In comparing the twofold revival of learning in the East and West, under the fostering influences of Christianity and Mahometanism, the providential connection of the two systems seems marked, not only by the identity of the machinery, but by the sameness also of the manner in which the two great processes were originally set in motion. The Saracenic revival began, under the Abbassides, with the encouragement of letters, by extending protection and patronage to learned men, especially, in its earliest stage, to learned strangers. The caliphs of the house of Abbas drew to their court, and within their palaces, scholars from all parts of the East; especially learned Jews and Christians from Syria, in

* " Niccolo Niccoli set the first example of forming in Italy an institution so favourable to the interests of learning as a public library." *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, vol. i. p. 55. cf. pp. 51—58. The foundation, which was *new* in Italy in the *fifteenth* century, was *general*, among the Saracens, in the *tenth* !

that age the most enlightened, if not the only enlightened, quarter of the world. These individuals were the instruments employed, both to procure Greek or Syriac manuscripts, and to translate them into the Arabic; to give permanent effect to the views of their princely patrons, by forming the minds and manners of their successors; and to institute and preside over those establishments, which, under their direction, rapidly arose into famous seats of learning.

The precedent thus nobly set by the Abbassides of Asia, was soon wisely followed by the Ommiades of Spain. These princes, in their turn, invited into their kingdom the philosophers newly formed, under the rival dynasty, in the schools of Asia. Learning and ability, wherever found, constituted a sure passport to the favour of the Spanish caliphs. Their possessors were diligently sought out, hospitably entertained, and generously recompensed. Thus, in the East and in the West, the first step in the restored progress of the human mind, lay in the encouragement afforded to letters, under the Arabian princes, by patronage extended to learned men.

Compare this state of things, with the early facts in the history of the restoration of learning, in the fifteenth century, in Europe. The reception given, by the eastern caliphs, to learned

Syrians and others, and again, by the Spanish caliphs, to learned refugees from Bagdad, and various quarters of the East, we find, here, remarkably and circumstantially paralleled, in the Italian states, by the generous welcome accorded, on the fall of Constantinople, to the learned Greek fugitives, by their merchant-princes.* The same patronage extended, and the same employments assigned, to these learned strangers, as in the case of men of letters in the infancy of Saracenic knowledge, led to similar effects: manuscripts were transcribed, or translated; the Greek idiom was taught; the philosophy of Greece was studied in the original, and cleared from the corruptions of its Arabic, and Arabico-latin, interpreters; its literature, in fine, was first made known and intelligible, to the European nations.

The common results are familiar to all: a general restoration of learning; and the reformation, in both cases, of religious belief.† The

* For much interesting information on this subject, it is almost superfluous to refer to works so well known, as Hody, "*De Græcis illustribus*," and Roscoe's "*Life of Lorenzo de Medici*."

† The Mahometan reformation was effected by the introduction of the Greek philosophy; which the Mussulman synod of Bosra pronounced to be indispensable, for the defence of Islamism against the arguments of the Jews and Christians. The consequence of this innovation, as we have before intimated, was a growing approximation of Mahometanism, in several important respects, to the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel. See especially sect. vi.

caliphs, or Mahometan popes, were the prime movers of the first great event : and, in the family of the Medici, the popes, or Romish caliphs *, became, directly and indirectly, the providential instruments for bringing about the second.† What reflecting mind can recall the reign of Almamon, without recollecting, at the same time, that of Leo X. ? both learned ; both munificent ; both liberal and enlightened patrons of letters and learned men. The taste of the caliph, in the one instance, unwittingly produced a permanent change for the better in the character of Mahometanism ; that of the Roman pontiff, in the other, unconsciously and unwillingly, gave birth to the light and liberty of the glorious reformation.⁷

The resort of men of letters to the courts and palaces of the Oriental and Spanish caliphs, naturally led to much intercourse and mutual exchange of thoughts. This intellectual communion was early improved, by royal patrons, into the institution of regular and periodic associations. In Spain, especially, the immediate point of contact with catholic Europe, LEARNED

* As Friar Bacon and others have styled the caliph “ Muhammedanorum Papa,” Romanists cannot object to the application of the converse expression to the Roman pontiffs.

† As the founder of the Vatican library, a high place belongs to Pope Nicholas V., in the history of the restoration of letters. See *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, vol. i. pp. 56—58.

SOCIETIES were established, within the tenth century, both for the advancement of philosophy, and the encouragement of polite letters. In these institutions or academies, as the Arabian writers relate, men of science, historians, poets, united their various lights and acquirements, for a common end, — the enlarging and perfecting of general knowledge. Cordova abounded in these academies; for which, that instituted by Al Hakem, in the palace of Mervan, served as the model. Similar societies, branching out from those of the capital, were formed in Seville, Toledo, and other principal cities.

The academy of science founded at Toledo, by Ahmed Ebn Said, may serve as an illustration. At the palace of this noble and learned Saracen, forty sages * of Toledo, Calatrava, and two adjoining places, met annually during the three winter months of November, December, and January. Ahmed appropriated for their meetings a spacious saloon, sumptuously fitted up, and furnished. A large stove occupied the

* The number reminds us of the limit of the French Academy. In this connection we may remark, that the Arabs were the first *Encyclopædists*. Cf. Brucker, tom. iii. p. 939. The *Encyclopædia* of Alfarabius, compiled in the tenth century, is described by Casiri as a treatise inscribed with that title, — “ubi Scientiarum Artiumque liberalium Synopsis occurrit, una cum accurata et perspicua earum notitia, definitione, divisione, methodo.” Bibl. A. Hisp. Escur. tom. i. p. 189. See Suppl. Enc. Brit. vol. i. p. 2.

centre of this apartment, round which the members seated themselves. The session was opened by the recital of some chapter from the Koran ; which became the text, as it were, of their further discussions * : they next proceeded to read verses, or to discuss some subject of science : the conference ended, the academicians present were served with perfumes and aromatics, and supplied with ewers containing rose-water, for their ablutions : the meeting then closed, with a moderate repast or supper.

At the stage of intellectual progress indicated by this state of things, the taste for letters had diffused itself through all classes : following their own impulse, or the example of the prince, the rich and noble rivalled one another in the protection and patronage of learning ; and the aristocracy of rank and wealth adopted into its family the aristocracy of mind. The highest offices of the state were now thrown open to the learned. And to such a degree had literature obtained mastery over the national spirit, that the academies of polite letters numbered among their ornaments several distinguished women. The names of Lobna, Fatima, Aixa, Cadiga, Mariem, Valadat

* Even at this advanced stage of their progress, we see that connection preserved between literature and religion, which characterized the infancy of knowledge among the Saracens ; and which made the school the vestibule to the mosque.

of Cordova, and Rediya, are particularly to be noted, for the honourable mention made of their mental accomplishments and genius, in the literary annals of the Spanish Saracens.*

The patronage of letters in Italy, in the fifteenth century, was exercised in the same manner, and conducted to similar results. The first restorers of European letters constantly frequented the palace of the Medici. Cosmo nurtured the infancy of those learned associations, which his grandson Lorenzo brought to maturity, by the institution of the academy of Florence, and of the Platonic Festival, a society emanating from it, and conducted after the manner, and to the end, which characterized the philosophical and literary societies of the Saracens.† In Italy also, as in Spain, the progress of reviving knowledge was promoted by the example of eminently gifted and learned women. Several of these illustrious females, illustrious equally by their

* De Marlès, tom. i. pp. 492, 493; Oelsner, p. 155. In the East, the studies of learned females were not confined to polite letters; contrary to what might be supposed of Mahometan prejudice, they extended even to *theology*; and the names of Carima, and Shaheda, who flourished, the former in the eleventh, and the latter in the twelfth, century of our era, are placed by Abulfeda, high in the list of Mussulman theologians. Carima delivered lectures on tradition, with great applause, at Mecca; and Shaheda obtained equal celebrity by her expositions, in the presence of numerous auditories, of the doctrine of traditional theology. Cf. *Annal. Muslem.* tom. iii. p. 222. and tom. iv. p. 38.

† Life of Lorenzo de Medici, vol. i. pp. 223—227.

high rank and by their generous love of letters, are noticed, with praise, by the Italian historians of the period : of these, Alessandra Scala, and Cassandra Fidelis, may well bear comparison with the Saracen female worthies.

After the description above given, of the learned societies established among the Spanish Saracens, the transactions of our modern philosophical and literary societies need hardly be adduced, to show how exactly they had their precedents and prototypes, in the age of Arabian learning.

The general connection of the eastern and western revivals of learning, it is presumed, has been now sufficiently substantiated, by detailed examination of the facts. This twofold restoration took place, in portions of the globe within the pales of Mahometanism and Christianity. And both movements had their origin, strictly and exclusively, in the agency and influences of these kindred, but opposed religions. But, through the whole providential arrangement, this one feature is conspicuous, that, however the Mahometan superstition may have apparently stood alone, in some stages of the progress, the hidden energy of the glorious Gospel was still vitally operative.

We would now recall attention, to the proof of this most important fact. The reader will recol-

lect, that the Abbasside caliphs themselves received their first intellectual impulse from their Christian physicians ; that the first teachers and translators who appeared, on the royal summons, in the court of Bagdad, were Syrian Christians ; that the names of Honain, Mesuah, Mesul, and other learned Syrians, who there kindled the infant flame of science, serve but as guides to the evangelic origin of that flame ; which, as it had been primarily awakened, so it long continued to be nurtured, by the labours and learning of the Jews and Christians of the East. If then, in after times, the great European revival of science and civilization was, either directly through the Spanish Saracens, or indirectly through the crusades, indebted, in all its branches, for the first seeds of life, to the influences of Mahometanism, — it will, in making this due acknowledgment, be mindfully observed, that all the intellectual vitality of Mahometanism was itself previously borrowed from Christianity, at the period of the conquest, by the Saracens, of eastern Christendom. At this momentous crisis, the religion of Mahomet interposed, to discharge the important office of a life-preserver. It caught and cherished the decaying spark, which was on the point of perishing in the hands of the degenerate Greeks ; but which

the imitative Saracens applied, as they proceeded in their career of victory and dominion, to rekindle, in all parts, the lost or smouldering flame of science. In its eventual contribution, therefore, to the restoration of European learning, Mahometanism still appears only as the handmaid of the Gospel: it gave back simply, with increase, what it had borrowed from Christianity.

Accordingly, if we observe the character of the entire parallel submitted in this and in the preceding section, in each specific branch of improvement, the part performed by Mahometanism will appear to have been but initiatory, while that performed by Christianity, on the other hand, is perfective. The acquirements and inventions of the Saracens, in whatever departments, advanced only to a certain mediate point; and, at that point, merged in the superior illumination, which they had been themselves the means of communicating to Western Christendom. In other words, the crescent of Mahomet arose only to dispel the intervening gloom between the lights of the ancient and the modern world, as the moon rises with its faint and borrowed beams, to fill the interval, and preserve the natural world from darkness, between the setting, and the rising, sun. Hence

the signal coincidence, which has been so often noticed by Christian writers, as alike interesting and unaccountable ; and which has attracted the attention even of infidel philosophy : we find the Saracen luminaries arising, precisely as those of ancient Christendom expired ; and expiring, not less precisely, as those of modern Christendom arose.*

But, while the spurious faith, and its father Ishmael, thus held, invariably, a subsidiary and subordinate place to the true revelation, and its parent Isaac, — the counsel of God, as declared in the providential history of the two religions, unequivocally teaches us, that the rise and progress of the adulterated system was essential to the recovery and ultimate perfection of the pure belief. In comparison with the Christian revelation and its happy influences, Mahometanism, indeed, is as the feet to the head, or as the footstool to the throne. But, as the head cannot say to the feet, “ I have no need of you,” neither can the legitimate creed, in the analogous instance, reject or deny the providential aids and advantages derived to it from the spurious.

* “ The age of Arabian learning continued about five hundred years, till the great irruption of the Moguls ; and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals : but, since the sun of science has arisen in the West, it should seem that the oriental studies have languished and declined.” *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. p. 44.

The part of Christian wisdom, here, is, to view the actual facts of the two cases; and, by a survey of the facts, not by short-sighted preconceptions, to reduce the pretensions of Mahometanism to their natural and real level. By such a survey, it will appear, on the one hand, that Mahometanism stands originally indebted to Christianity, for the sum of its beneficial influences on the world; since all its greater lights were originally drawn from the Christian Greek empire: on the other hand, that Christianity, in its turn, stands, by Divine permission, indebted to Mahometanism, for the eventual and general restoration of European civilization and science; directly, through the Saracens of Africa and Spain, and indirectly through the crusades. For the more direct influences of the holy wars themselves, on the European system, are nothing more or less than the indirect influences of Mahometanism; the crusaders unconsciously serving as importers into Italy, and other parts of Europe, of the Asiatic science and civilization of the Saracens.

In truth, the Saracenic improvements could be co-extensive only with the empire of the caliphs, until the action of the crusades diffused them to the heart of every country of Europe. The inquiring few, alone, could be reached

by the distant light; the implicit many were brought into contact with its genial warmth, by the almost universal agency of the crusades. The cause of science might be promoted, by its earlier contact with the Arabs; but civilization was first introduced into barbarized Europe, by the general collision of the holy wars.

The reasonings of this section have proceeded, throughout, with express or tacit reference, to the intimate connection of the twofold restoration of learning, with the influences of religious belief. We will close it, by a summary of the evidences which establish that connection.

With respect to *Mahometanism*, it is certain, that the institution of schools among the Saracens, was intended to provide for the instruction of the people in the text and interpretation of the Koran. The study of philosophy, again, was first taken up, and finally cultivated, strictly with a view to the defence and confirmation of the Mahometan religion. The caliphs, lastly, the temporal and spiritual heads of that religion, were, in every stage of its progress, the movers, directors, and regulators of the learning of the Saracens.

It is equally demonstrable that *Christianity* was the true source of the intellectual restoration of Europe. The schools of the Saracen empire

were not more immediately connected with the mosques, than were those of western Christendom, in the middle ages, with the monasteries and convents. Again, the study of theology as a science, with reference to the vindication and advancement of religion, was the primary object of the Catholic, as well as of the Saracenic application, to the Greek philosophy and the writings of Aristotle. The caliphs, the spiritual heads of the Mahometan superstition, in fine, did not more certainly originate, animate, and control, the one great mental movement, than did the Popes, the spiritual heads of the Latin or western church, the other.

The history of the period contains ample and acknowledged proof, that the restoration of European learning, after the eclipse of the middle ages, is justly ascribed to the intellectual operation of Christianity. It is not enough, however, that we admit this important fact : it is essential, further, that we consider attentively its nature and bearings. For, until we shall have analysed the matter of fact itself, we can be very imperfectly qualified to appreciate the office which Christianity has discharged, and the place which it holds, as the intellectual enlightener of mankind.

In the first five centuries of our era, the learn-

ing which existed in the Christian church was a borrowed light, adopted wholly from the heathen literature of the Greeks and Romans. In every branch of human science, up to this period, the church of Christ stood indebted to Paganism. The peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, contained in Scripture, illustrated by tradition and the writings of the fathers, and these only, were her own. But Christianity could derive no distinction, none suitable to its origin and end, from the mere cultivation, however successful, of a borrowed literature ; far less, of a literature borrowed from such an inferior source. Nor, on the other hand, was the Greek and Roman learning itself capable of supplying the materials for the vast intellectual superstructure, which, after a dark interval of centuries, the nations of modern Europe eventually erected in western Christendom.

The merits and defects of the Greek philosophy are equally well known. Those writers, among the moderns, who have shown themselves most capable of appreciating its high excellencies, have most truly and ably exposed the inherent imperfection, of the best learning of the ancients : its unsubstantial depths, and visionary abstractions ; its want, where most exact, of experimental exactness ; its utter failure, from ignorance

of the Author of nature, to grapple with the wonders and mysteries of his works. From these, and similar causes, the best ages of Greek and Roman learning were, after all, but the childhood of knowledge: and the permanence of those ages would have been only a perpetual childhood; for, at the root, there was absolutely no provision for full growth, and emancipation into man's estate. The apostle, therefore, spake in the true spirit of philosophy, when he pronounced the wisdom of the Greeks foolishness.

But such as it was, so far was this wisdom from maintaining itself at its height, when Christianity first imbibed it, that, on the contrary, we know as a certain and undisputed fact, that it was already irretrievably on the decline. And, in the western empire, its spirit had altogether fled, long before its formal downfall was effected by the irruption of the barbarians.

The influx of the northern tribes gave birth to a revolution, not only in the modes of thinking, but in the source of thought: it provided the raw materials for a new manufacture of the human mind: the very recollections of the past were now, for ages, swept away. Meanwhile, a leaven, not of man's preparing, was silently hidden in the lifeless mass. The convulsive throes of the dark ages made secretly ready the birth of a new

intellectual day. The lights of heathen antiquity, with the returning dawn of European intelligence, were safely and healthfully, because sparingly restored, by a people, strangers, at all former times, to the Greek and Roman learning, and of a genius totally foreign from the genius of the ancients. What was contributed to Europe, through the Arabs, was just enough to stimulate without overlaying. They imparted to the Gothic and German nations of the West, together with a portion of the Greek science and philosophy, an impulse and infusion perfectly original, and properly their own. It was after this whole preparatory process, through every intermediate stage of its operation, had wrought to the end, and not till then, that the intellectual energy of Christianity fully manifested itself in the world.

In working up the recent and rich materials furnished by the North, Paganism and Mahometanism alike served, not as principals, but as hand-maidens. The primitive character of the Gothic and German genius, profound and powerful, and possessing, in undiminished vigour, the elastic buoyancy of youth, needed only to be touched by a congenial spark, to break forth into original intellectual greatness. Christianity, which, by the admission of its most inveterate

opponents *, had first moulded the genius of the north into form by its moral influences, now supplied this spark ; and so gave birth to the mental constitution of modern Europe. The Arabs may have furnished the elements of our experimental philosophy ; the Greeks and Romans, of our proficiency in classical taste, and in moral and metaphysical science ; but the great fabric of European intellect rests upon foundations far wider and deeper than these ; — and its foundations were laid in the intellectual influences of Christianity.

In closing our view of the parallel comprized in the present section, this, then, is the final matter-of-fact result. Christianity maintains, throughout, her unrivalled supremacy, as the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, in this great chapter of providential history. Mahometanism merely falls in to fill up a chasm ; to discharge an indispensable, indeed, but strictly dependent and auxiliary function, as a middle term, and connecting link, between the seemingly disparted influences of the one true revelation.

But, although in every sense subsidiary, the office discharged by the religion of Mahomet

* For the testimony borne by Mr. Gibbon, see section xii. *ad init.*
Compare Decline and Fall, c. lv. *ad fin.*

is not the less important. It preserved the lights of the ancient world, through the long eclipse of the middle ages: it enlarged those lights, in the paths most directly leading to the advancement of the human mind: it imparted them gradually to Europe, in proportion as Europe became capable of receiving them: and thus opened, without overpowering, the mental vision of the nations of the West. When the proper time was come, when the western nations were at length fitted for the trust, Mahometanism wholly surrendered its temporary charge; Christianity, invigorated by the pause of centuries, resumed, with a vast increase of power, her proper office; and the scattered rays of knowledge, which had been preserved from extinction by the spurious faith, were concentrated by the happy influences of the true religion, and brought to bear, with united force, upon the awakened mind of Europe.

These were great and peculiar services of Mahometanism; services clearly and eminently providential. And from experience of the benefits conferred on Christendom through this arch-heresy, in past ages, we seem authorized to anticipate further, and, not improbably, superior benefits, in ages yet to come. Since the religion of Mahomet appears at least equally fitted to

prepare the way, at a period still future, for the more universal diffusion of Christian lights, and Christian civilization.

Thus, in its mental character and effects, the providential office of the Koran, however subordinate, seems to have been essential for the accomplishment of the ends to be attained, by the divine dispensation of the Gospel. The two systems, emanating from the one patriarchal source, appear continually to converge towards one great consummation, — the glorious fulfilment of the twofold covenant of God with Abraham, in its social and intellectual aspect, by the eventual re-union of his sons Isaac and Ishmael, as joint civilizers of the world.

CONCLUSION.

IT is not designed, in these concluding remarks, to offer any thing in the way of formal recapitulation. The object and argument of the present work are, it may without presumption be assumed, sufficiently familiar to those readers, who shall have accompanied the author to this term of his labours. It may be mutually satisfactory, however, before he takes leave, to direct attention to the nature and amount of the proofs, submitted in the foregoing pages.

It will be observed, then, that the evidences which have been advanced, are, from first to last, strictly and properly *cumulative evidences* : that they are at once independent and corroborative of each other ; and that, while they combine together most advantageously as a whole, they, in fact, constitute a series of separate proofs.

On a retrospect of the general argument in this point of view, its nature and amount will stand pretty nearly thus : —

In the first section, the fundamental principle of a providential connection, between the Mahometan arch-heresy, and the Jewish and Christian revelations, is supported by ample proof, drawn from Scripture, of the establishment of two distinct, but parallel, covenants, on the part of God, with Abraham, in favour of his sons, Isaac and Ishmael.

But the analogy, which has been there shown to subsist between the terms of these covenants, pre-supposes the existence of a certain relation and correspondence in their respective fulfillments; in other words, between the religious systems which eventually emanated from them.

The presumption which thus arose, antecedently, from the scriptural evidences given in the first section, is progressively confirmed, through the twelve succeeding sections; which, it is hoped, establish the following series of matter-of-fact analogies, between Judaism and Christianity, on the one hand, and Mahometanism, on the other.

1. The true revelation, and the spurious revelation, agree, in being alike subjects of prophecy, both in the Old Testament, and in the New: a distinction, be it observed, belonging to no other religious system. 2. They correspond historically, to an extraordinary extent, in

resemblances between the founders, which strongly indicate their relation, as Christ and antichrist ; and in resemblances between the religions themselves, in their entire rise and progress, which amply corroborate that relation.

3. In their respective moral schemes, they coincide, in the degree suited to the real pretensions of Mahometanism, as the spurious counterpart of the law and gospel ; its moral code being clearly plagiarized, in the lower features, from carnal Judaism, and in the higher, from the divine morality of Christianity. And the kind and degree of relationship which obtains in morals, extends itself, 4. to the doctrines of the opposed religions, and 5. to their rites. 6. They concur in the possession of written laws, preserved in books alike called sacred, and purporting to be inspired ; bearing the same titles, and presenting, to a large extent, similar contents, — the Koran being, in point of fact, a spurious parody of the Bible. 7. The parallel manifested between the three creeds, under each and all of the preceding heads of comparison, is further maintained in the history of their several sects and heresies. 8. The papal and Mahometan Apostasies possess a common character, as the Eastern and Western heads of that antichrist, prophesied of in Scripture ; and, while

they exactly coincide in order of time, they so correspond in their general effects, as to be, in their whole antichristian properties, nothing more, nor less, than two different perversions of the one true religion. 9. The kindred quality of these apostasies, discernible in ten thousand examples, is demonstrated by one, — the common prophetic harvest of blood and desolation, sown in the corruptions of the Eastern and Western churches, and reaped, and gathered in, through twelve centuries, by the rival sacred wars of Popery and Mahometanism. 10. In the last place, under the almighty and all-merciful control of Him, who of old established his covenants with Abraham, and who keepeth covenant to the days of a thousand generations, Christianity and Mahometanism have been seen, hand joined in hand, co-operating in the general restoration and advancement of industry, commerce, and civilization, of arts, sciences, philosophy, and literature, in every quarter of the habitable globe.

But if the fundamental principle of this argument be just, — if its derivation from the lesser covenant of Ishmael furnishes the true solution of the success of Mahometanism, — it is plainly impossible, that this manifold relationship, subsisting between the true and the spurious

revelation, can terminate here. In such a view of the subject, the joint agency and influences of the two great religious systems, in every prior stage, can be regarded only as intermediate; and as leading up to a final spiritual consummation. It becomes, therefore, of the highest importance, to investigate and ascertain the real character of the position hitherto occupied by the Mahometan superstition, in its capacity as a middle term, between truth and error, between Christianity and paganism, in all its various and revolting forms.

The objection has been frequently raised by infidel writers, and the admission has been fairly made by some of the ablest advocates of the gospel, that a high state of national culture and civilization would seem essential, in order to Christianity striking root, and becoming *permanently* established among any people.¹ It may be remarked, in confirmation of this opinion, that the limits of permanent Christianity have, in fact, been hitherto nearly commensurate with the boundaries of Greek and Roman civilization. It is very true, that, in the apostolic age, and at its primitive announcement, the blessed and glorious gospel had penetrated into the savage climates, and among the barbarian nations, of the ancient world. The early triumphs of

Christianity in these quarters are, however, sufficiently accounted for by the consideration, that its first preachers carried with them the sensible and visible sanction of miracles ; of supernatural gifts and powers, — perhaps the only kind of appeal, at once perfectly adapted to the capacity, and peculiarly in unison with the religious instinct, of uncivilized man.

This last inference by no means rests on merely theoretical grounds ; it seems fully elucidated and confirmed, by the direct practical result. For, however successful in the first instance, certain it is, that the apostolical preaching left after it no lasting national impression among the Scythians, or other barbarians of the North ; where any descendants of the primitive converts, who had not previously relapsed into heathenism, would appear to have subsided into heresy, before the general irruption of the barbarians.

Nor is the difficulty in question at all diminished, by the familiar fact, that the pagan invaders of the Christian Roman empire universally melted into the religion of the conquered South and West. For, if, in their new settlements, they not only embraced, but retained, the profession of the gospel, it will be recollected, that they did so under the permanent influence of peculiar and controlling circumstances ; that,

with their native seats, they had changed their national character and habits, and had become blended into one people with their civilized Roman subjects.

On the other hand, the historical fact is alike melancholy and notorious, that the final reduction of the north to the confession of Christianity, and to the yoke of Rome, was effected, not by the powers of persuasion, but by force of arms², and by the martial apostleship of the Teutonic crusaders.

And, on the whole, the national conversion of the northern tribes, far from weakening, materially strengthens the conclusion, that the state of barbarism is a state essentially adverse to the propagation of the gospel; at least, to its propagation by ordinary means.

Accordingly we find, that, in the East, neither Tartary, nor Arabia, at any period of church history, admitted Christianity, as the national religion. The seed sown in the Arabian peninsula, by Saint Paul himself, too quickly withered, or became choked by the tares of heresy. Inasmuch, that, among the barbarians, whether Scythians or Saracens, even the ministry of the great apostle of the gentiles appears, so far as we can now discern, to have had the same unprofitable issue³: an issue for which there seems

no other assignable cause, than the unsuitableness of the gospel scheme, in its immediate application, to the condition and capabilities of those uncivilized nations.

With the fact of a difficulty, which arose from the intrinsic excellence of our divine religion, but which operated practically to obstruct the diffusion of Christianity among the barbarians, let us now compare the action of Mahometanism upon the whole barbarian population of Asia. Not to dwell on its primitive success, in the national proselytism of the Bedoweens, we know as matter of history, that the creed of Mahomet was early, greedily, and almost universally embraced, by the two great barbarous families of Asia, the Turks and Tartars; that it has since been cherished and propagated by both people, with unabated zeal; and that, in its present decadency, the empire and faith of the crescent find their last and best support, in the inflexible enthusiasm of the Ottomans, the untutored descendants of the pagan barbarians of the north of Asia. What has been said, respecting the influences of Mahometanism upon the Turkish and Tartar tribes, may be extended, with equal truth, to a still more unpromising class of proselytes, to the negro population of central Africa.⁴ Results which, altogether, strongly betoken an

for the glorious re-edification of our Eastern Sion, by the final bringing in of Jew, Mahometan, and Gentile, to the church and kingdom of the Gospel. ⁶

In the past progress of events towards this great consummation, Mahometanism, in its allowed character as a Christian heresy, ⁷ has long discharged the servile, indeed, but useful and necessary functions of a pioneer. In this capacity, amidst countless falsehoods and follies, it has already diffused, in a form however debased, the belief in one God, the doctrine of a resurrection, and the expectation of a judgment to come, with many other adumbrations of the Christian faith, over regions on which the light of Christianity had never shone: while the gross and corporeal representations of the Koran would seem to have conveyed these fundamental truths, in a clothing, at once attractive to the tastes, and level to the apprehension, of man in the savage state. ⁸

What may be the prospective uses of the Mahometan apostasy, it is not for human foresight fully to conjecture. But the fact is most remarkable, that, notwithstanding its approach, in so many features, to Christianity, and its special toleration of Christians, Islamism has hitherto surpassed all forms of paganism itself, in the

bigoted resistance opposed to the propagation of the Gospel. The anomaly, however, startling as it may seem, only adds fresh confirmation to our view of the providential character and purpose of this inflexible superstition; since, in this last respect, *Mahometanism* and *Judaism* occupy common ground. They are identified with each other, in the perverseness of their renitency against the evidences and influences of Christianity; they bear numberless corresponding marks of a similar judicial blindness; and they mutually maintain that relative posture with reference to the church of Christ, which might be expected to obtain between two creeds, emanating, the one by divine appointment, the other by providential permission, from Isaac and Ishmael.⁹ And, as these two systems would seem to have had, in a certain sense, a common origin, may it not be allowable to conjecture, that they will one day have, to a certain extent, a common end? that, in the same degree in which the out-standing of the Mahometan world resembles that of the Jews, will its final coming in be also the simultaneous result, not of ordinary means, but of extraordinary providential interposition? ¹⁰

But, with reference to the eventual conversion of the Mahometan nations, whatever may be doubtful regarding the mode, this much is cer-

tain respecting the time, of that conversion, that this time *must* come, and *may* be at hand. According to various independent, and seemingly unexceptionable, authorities, its gradual approach is even now discernible ; in some quarters, in a growing neglect of rites, and relaxation of discipline¹¹ ; in others, in the existence of a general persuasion, that Mahometanism is fated to be finally swallowed up by Christianity, and that its predestined term draws near.¹²

The way once opened for the conversion of the Mahometan world, it has been strongly affirmed, and there seems solid reason to believe, that the work of conversion will proceed, with uninterrupted course, and with unexampled rapidity.¹³ While, whatever may be the rate of progress, it will, from the training peculiar to Mussulmans, be attended with this advantage, that, in each new proselyte, Christianity may reckon on an additional propagator of the Gospel.¹⁴ The effects of this instrumentality, in countries where Mahometans are largely mingled with a heathen population, and especially in quarters hitherto impervious to European enterprize, and to Christian zeal¹⁵, are beyond all ordinary calculation ; but, humanly speaking, such an instrumentality would seem fitted to realize, on a scale fully commensurate with the promises and prophecies

of Scripture, the fulness or final coming in of the Gentiles.

To indulge, however, in the contemplation of these bright but distant prospects, can be profitable in our day, only so far as it may serve to remind, and incite us to the diligent but sober performance, of a present duty. Our great present duty, under the divine direction and disposal, unquestionably is, in all sobriety and wisdom, to consult for the future enlargement of Christianity, by considering the ways, and devising the means, most likely to promote its eventual propagation.

As the great providential conductor, between the only true revelation, and every false religion, Mahometanism will naturally present an early field for the exercise of this labour of love. But success in this great field (always referring the final issue to Him, whose alone it is to give the increase) will not depend merely on the zeal and fidelity of the labourers, however exemplary and unwearied, but must bear proportion, also, to the judgment, the skill, the experience, and, above all, the just views and sound discretion, which they shall carry with them to the prosecution of their office.

It has been a leading object, throughout these imperfect pages, to show, that a mistaken esti-

mate has hitherto been formed by Christian writers, and that erroneous notions have been almost universally prevalent, respecting the character, the success, and even the actual history, of Islamism. If the existence of mistake, and of consequent mistatement, has been established in any one of these respects, no time, assuredly, should be lost in reforming our premises, and revising our conclusions: for errors in detail may admit of detailed correction; but an error in first principles involves inevitable false consequences, in every stage of our subsequent progress.

In the Introduction to the present work, the injurious consequences of a mistaken estimate of the Mahometan superstition, both in favouring the attempts of infidelity, and in weakening the arguments of Christian advocates, have, it is hoped, been sufficiently indicated. In the conclusion, it may be at least equally advisable, to consider the subject in another light; namely, with reference to the effects which a wrong appreciation of their religious system may have had heretofore, and may continue to have, on Mahometans themselves.

In this view, it becomes a question for the most serious consideration of every friend of Catholic Christianity, on what reasonable ground we can

hopefully look forward to a general conversion of the Mahometan nations, so long as the system shall be suffered to prevail, of attempting to combat the real errors of their creed, by putting forth views the most erroneous, of what Mahometanism is, and of what Mahometanism has done. Let us take for an example of the evil deprecated, the history of its social and mental influences on mankind. With this history, the Mahometans of the East in particular, the most civilized and enlightened portion of the Mussulman community, are still familiarly conversant. To them, the great services once rendered to the world by Mahometanism, in those arts which improve the social happiness of man, and those studies which exalt his intellectual existence, are thoroughly known. Their eyes instinctively averted from the fallen condition of their faith, the eastern Mahometans may be truly said, to live upon the past; and to relieve the painful consciousness of their political decline, only by more fondly cherishing the proud recollections of their ancient glories.

If these men are to be taught by Christian missionaries, what we have been so often told by Christian writers, that “throughout every country where Mahometanism is professed, the same deep pause is made in philosophy;” that, “in

the East, under the influence of Mahometan belief, the natural progress of mankind, whether in government, in manners, or in science, has been retarded ;” and that over the various nations of the Mahometan world, “ some universal, but baleful influence seems to have operated, so as to counteract every diversity of national character, and restrain every principle of national exertion :” if such shall be the arguments employed with them against the faith of the Koran, either they must have lost all their characteristic intelligence and penetration, and have ceased to think, and feel, and reason, as men of a like nature, and like passions with ourselves — or we may, with moral certainty, predict the result. From what they *know* to be wrong in the teaching of their Christian instructors, they will naturally argue that what they *know not*, is wrong also : from our false estimate of Mahometanism, in its civil and intellectual influences, they may, without further examination, infer the falseness of our estimate of its spiritual claims and pretensions : and, in this way, every door may be barred against the admission of conviction, before the saving truths of the Gospel shall have so much as sounded in their ears.

Let an opposite course be pursued ; and, on the unchangeable principles of our common

nature, we may, under the Divine guidance and blessing, confidently reckon upon opposite consequences. From what they see to be just, and fair, and true, in our representations of the history, and providential services, of Islamism, they will at least be satisfied of our impartiality, and our integrity; two main essentials for procuring the confidence of our reasonable fellow-creatures. And while their confidence shall be gained, their prejudices may be soothed, and their pride disarmed, by finding the ministers of the Gospel far more competent, and quite as willing, as themselves, to do every justice to the secular and temporal benefits imparted both to East and West, through the instrumentality of the Koran. A piece of justice, moreover, which may bring its own reward; since it is only by fairly acknowledging what they have, that we can hope to make them sensible of what they have not.

But from this moral vantage-ground advances may soon be made, which hitherto had been essayed in vain: for it seems generally conceded, that the pride and the prejudices of Mahometans, at present constitute by far the most formidable obstacles to their entertainment of any arguments or evidences, involving change in their religious belief.

By thus approaching the understanding through

the avenue of the heart, truths may be rendered acceptable, which otherwise would not be borne. The whole spurious character of Mahometanism — its low morality, its slavish rites, and sanguinary spirit — may, by a gradual exposure, be made effectually instrumental in loosing its captives from their chains ; and leading them to seek refuge from the bondage of a bloody and enslaving superstition, in the blessed liberty and rest of the Gospel of peace.

That, in his own good time, and his own unerring way, Almighty God may hasten the coming of this consummation, will be the prayer of all true members of the Church of Christ. But to the inhabitants of this highly-favoured land, the establishment of our pure and apostolic church in India, gives, if possible, a nearer and dearer interest in the future conversion of the Mahometan world. Let us only recollect, that we must begin wisely, if we would proceed well ; that a good foundation is the first advance to a great superstructure ; and that to become all things to all men, if by any means we may save some, is the lesson bequeathed by the example of the great master-builder of the gentiles, for our instruction in the task of edifying the Church of Christ.

And if, by the removal of a single erroneous impression, or the contribution of a single useful

suggestion, the author may be found to have cast a mite into the treasury of God's temple, he will feel richly indemnified for the conscientious prosecution of an inquiry, which, however imperfect in the conception, and unequal in the execution, is the result of the thoughts and studies of nine years.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX. No. I.

INQUIRY INTO THE DESCENT OF THE ARABS FROM
ISHMAEL.

THE view taken of Mahometanism in the foregoing pages, rests altogether on one Scriptural ground-work; on the Abrahamic origin of the Arabian family. In conducting the general argument, this fundamental point was taken for granted. But, as the derivation of the Arab tribes from Ishmael is a fact which sceptical writers have thought proper to bring seriously into question*, some inquiry into the

* It has been brought into question even by some Christian scholars: I am sorry to class the learned Brucker among the authorities, who, without pretending to offer reasons for their scepticism, have presumed to arraign the *Scriptural* genealogy of the Arabs. The national descent from Ishmael, this elaborate critic numbers with those pretensions, which, “*propius considerata, et ad lapidem Lydium critices artis, atque historiæ veteris examinata, fundamento destituuntur!*” Those readers, however, must be of easy faith, who will accept in evidence such *gratis dicta* as the following: “*Omnam quam Arabes recentiores jactant, originem ab Abrahamo, incertissimam esse, et ab his hominibus circa tempora nascentis et adolescentis Mahummedismi excogitatam, ut more Muhammedanorum, Judæorum, et Christianorum, Abrahamum fidei suæ parentem jactantium, non minori antiquitate suas nugas et errores esse homines crederent.*” Hist. Crit. Philos. tom. i. p. 214, 215. edit. Lips. 1742. In the following dissertation, the author hopes not merely to affirm, but to prove, that the scepticism of the German critic, and that of the English historian, alike “*fundamento destituuntur.*”

affected grounds of doubt, and real merits of the point at issue, becomes unavoidable.

The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire professes to have considered this interesting question; and assails, with his usual dexterity of insinuation, the united authority of scripture-history, and Arabian tradition, respecting "the pedigree of the Arabs."* To his statement of the case I shall, therefore, more particularly apply myself.

Mr. Gibbon's doubts, touching the Ishmaelitish origin of the Arabians, are stated, indeed, with an air of assumed indifference, and with a studied levity of expression; but the assiduity of his efforts to depress the proof of that origin, discloses his sense of the importance of this circumstance of the Mosaic narrative, in the evidences of revealed religion. In one place, doubt is barely suggested by an insidious hint, — "*whatever* may be the pedigree of the Arabs;" in another, the historian's scepticism assumes a more defined form, — "a critic," the reader is apprized, "might dispute the *foundation* of the pedigree;" in a third, Mr. Gibbon openly sneers at the Ishmaelitish descent, as "a national privilege or *fable*." These perfectly gratuitous allegations, it will be remembered, are made in the face of ancient records, to whose historical authority this artful writer, on other occasions, repeatedly pays a convenient deference.

While the books of Moses are thus silently rejected as evidence for the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael, Mr. Gibbon presently affects to consider the Mosaic records as the sole depositaries of the fact or fiction. According to his representation, the Arabs themselves remained wholly unconscious of their Abrahamic origin, until the century immediately preceding the Christian era; when the story of it began to be made known to them, for the first time. From that period, it seems, a succession of

* Decline and Fall, chap. 1.

Jewish exiles, and of Christian missionaries, diffused over the peninsula copies of the Hebrew Scriptures; and disseminated, with those Scriptures, the notion of an Ishmaelitish parentage among its barbarous tribes: "The Jews and Christians were the people of *the Book*; the Bible was already translated into the Arabic language; and the volume of the Old Testament was accepted by the concord of these implacable enemies. In the story of the Hebrew patriarchs, the Arabs were pleased to *discover* the fathers of their nation. They applauded the birth and promise of Ishmael; revered the faith and virtue of Abraham; traced his pedigree and their own to the creation of the first man; and imbibed, with equal credulity, the prodigies of the holy text, and the dreams and traditions of the Jewish Rabbis." *

In this studied attempt to throw doubt on the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael, I would simply draw attention to the fact, that the twofold evidence of Scripture history, and Arabian tradition, in support of that descent, has been set aside, without examination into the authority of either. It shall be my object, in this dissertation, to supply the omission; and to establish the authority of both testimonies, as historical evidence on the point in question: for it may well suffice, against all mere sceptical objections to this genealogy, if we are able to show, 1. that the volume of the Old Testament, regarded simply as an ordinary historical document, contains satisfactory proof of the alleged national descent; and, 2. that the ante-Mahometan Arabians, in every age of their history, appear to have preserved the tradition of their Abrahamic origin unbroken. †

1. Upon inquiry into the state of the scriptural evidences bearing on this question, an important consideration demands attention at the outset; namely, that the evidence of Scripture cannot here be regarded as a single testimony, but re-

* Decline and Fall, ch. 1.

† "Nisi aliud obstat, unicuique genti natales suos referenti credi par est." Bochart. Phaleg.

solves itself into two perfectly distinct and independent branches. In the volume of the Old Testament, we have, in the first place, the Mosaic account of Ishmael and his descendants, contained in the book of Genesis ; and, secondly, sundry corroborations of that account, running through a series of records, each possessing its distinct authority, and extending nearly from the time of Moses, to the era of the Babylonish captivity. The testimony of the primitive Mosaic record, to the origin of the Arabian family, is direct and specific ; that borne by the subsequent books of Scripture, is generally indirect and incidental. This actual state of the case, so far as respects the scriptural evidences, needs only to be pointed out ; the reader will, at once, perceive and appreciate its bearings and value.

With all who receive the Hebrew Scriptures as historical authorities, the derivation of the Arab tribes from Ishmael is so fully authenticated by the narrative of the book of Genesis, that nothing can seem wanting to the completeness of the proof. We find there recorded, the parentage, birth, and settlement of Ishmael in Arabia ; together with reiterated promises and prophecies in his behalf, that he should become a great nation ; and delineations exact, and to the life, of the character and habits of his descendants. We have also the births, names, and settlement, of the patriarchs, his sons, as princes or emirs, in the same country ; with incipient fulfilments of the specific prediction concerning these brethren *, in the mention of them, at this early period, by their towns, their castles, and their nations † ; that is to say, not merely as the fathers of families, but as already the founders of potent tribes.

Nor does the authority of the narrative depend solely on the statements of the narrator. Moses here treats, indeed, of events occurring centuries before his time ; but it will be observed that, in so doing, he presents past events to his contemporaries, as verified in their existing consequences.

* Gen. xvii. 20.

† Gen. xxv. 16.

His statements respecting Ishmael, for example, and the promises of God concerning him and his posterity, purport to have been made to a people, who had before their eyes flourishing and powerful tribes, descended from this patriarch, and severally distinguished by the names of his twelve sons, their progenitors. In the case of the Israelites, therefore, history was confronted, by their inspired lawgiver, with known and sensible facts; and the experience of the present, continually brought forward to confirm and elucidate his relations of the past. It follows, that to all who will consent to admit the Mosaic records in the light of historical vouchers, the direct testimony which they contain of the descent of the Arabians from Ishmael comes confirmed in the completest and most satisfactory way.

But, when we propose to verify from Scripture the Ishmaelitish origin of the Arabs, the narrative of Genesis forms only one branch of the proof. Its *direct* testimony to the fact, is independently corroborated, by scriptural evidence of quite a separate kind: I mean, by the *incidental* notices and allusions which occur in other books of the Old Testament; and which coincide unanimously, without the possibility of design in the coincidences, in representing Ishmael as the known and allowed progenitor of the Arab race.

Even minds sufficiently disposed to withhold assent, in any case, from the more direct testimony of sacred history, may find it, on experiment, a less easy task to rid themselves of its proofs, when coming thus in an indirect and incidental way. In this unimpeachable form, the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael is again and again represented as a fact of universal notoriety, in various books of the Old Testament: books written, at distant intervals of time and place, under diverse circumstances, and with wholly different objects. In this way, through the long course of the Jewish history, we meet repeated references to existing tribes of Arabia, descending from Ishmael, and bearing the names of his several sons; references certainly not made with any prospective controversial view, but arising incidentally out

of the contact of the Arabs with the Jews, in the ordinary dealings of commercial intercourse, or the extraordinary vicissitudes of peace and war.

Thus the prophet Isaiah, when he speaks generally of the coming in of the Gentiles, makes mention of “the rams of *Nebaioth*,” the eldest, and “all the flocks of *Kedar**,” the second of the sons of Ishmael; of the Arab tribes, that is, deriving from these brothers: in another part of his prophecy, he notices “the *cities* of the wilderness, the villages that Kedar doth inhabit †:” and again, when, denouncing impending calamity on the land of Arabia, he foretells how “all the glory of Kedar shall fail ‡,” he employs the name of this single tribe, as synonymous with that of the entire peninsula. Jeremiah, where he predicts a similar national visitation, introduces Kedar, in like prominent terms, as a great and powerful people: this prophet graphically depicts these true sons of Ishmael, as “the wealthy nation that dwelleth without care, which have neither gates nor bars, which dwell alone.” || Ezekiel also prophesies conjointly of “Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar.” § In earlier times of Jewish history, David and Solomon allude to “the tents of Kedar ¶,” as objects but too familiar and formidable to the eyes of their subjects. Mention of the tribes of *Dumah* and *Tema*, the sixth and ninth sons of Ishmael, is made by Isaiah, in connection with that of Kedar: the prophet speaks of “the burden of *Dumah*,” and “the inhabitants of the land of *Tema*.” ** An allusion to *Tema*, as a warlike people of Arabia, occurs so early as in the book of Job: “The Troops of *Tema* looked, the companies of

* Is. lx. 7.

† xlii. 11. The description corresponds with the site of Mecca, supposed to be the *Mesha* of Scripture. Cf. Gen. x. 30.

‡ xxi. 16, 17.

|| Jer. xlix. 28—31.

§ Ezek. xxvii. 21. It appears incidentally that the Kedarites were pastoral Bedoweens; since they are introduced by the prophet as supplying the Tyrians with “lambs, and rams, and goats.” Now the Bedoweens are reckoned to this day, among the Arabs, to be the purest of the stock of Ishmael.

¶ Ps. cxx. 5.

** Is. xxi. 11. 14.

Sheba waited for them."* This Ishmaelitish tribe is also noticed by the prophet Jeremiah.† Lastly, the tribes sprung from *Jetur* and *Naphish*, the tenth and eleventh sons of Ishmael, are commemorated in the first book of Chronicles; and the intimation there given of the strength of these comparatively unnoticed hordes, may qualify us to form a juster notion, than otherwise we could be prepared to entertain, of the aggregate population, at that period, of Ishmaelitish Arabia. When the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites leagued together in an expedition against these *Hagarites* ‡ (as the sacred history styles them), after a great slaughter in the field of battle, the male captives alone amounted, it appears, to a hundred thousand men. §

The descent of the chief tribes of Arabia from Ishmael is thus sustained and substantiated, by a double chain of scriptural proofs. The *direct* testimony, with great historical exactness, sets forth in detail the whole circumstances of the national pedigree; and supports itself, in its statements, by constant reference to contemporary fact and experience. The *indirect*, corroborates the direct testimony of scripture, at every point, by a series of incidental notices and allusions; relating to times present to the several writers, and to passing occurrences; and testifying the existence, throughout the successive ages of the Jewish polity, of warlike tribes, and powerful nations, of the race of Ishmael, within the Arabian peninsula: facts, leaving not a possibility of any of the writers being themselves deceived, nor a conceivable motive for their attempting to practise deception on others.

Or suppose them, as the consistent sceptic must suppose them, consentient, one and all, in the transmission of a falsehood equally unmeaning and profitless; and see how, on this supposition, the case will stand. On this monstrous supposition, the authors of the Old Testament, one and all, must be understood to speak, to their several contemporaries, of *non-existing* nations, tribes, and armies, as living, moving,

* Job vi. 19. † Jer. xxv. 23. ‡ Compare App. i. p. 400. ad fin. note.

§ 1 Chron. v. 10. and 19—21.

and acting, under their familiar observation! Even the poetry of the Hebrews draws its images and illustrations from "the tents of Kedar;" yet are these tents and their inhabitants a fable or a dream! The force of sceptical credulity itself will hardly accept this hypothesis; yet is this incredible theory the natural and necessary offspring of the doubts, which scepticism has attempted to raise, respecting "the pedigree of the Arabs."

View, then, the question of this genealogy, as tried on the scriptural evidences only: few facts of ancient history, it will on consideration appear, have been subjected to a more searching ordeal; none, it may safely be asserted, have passed more triumphantly through it. For, taking into account the collateral evidences of scripture, the truth of the Mosaic narrative stands here certified, by lights of history, reflected back on it through a period of nearly one thousand years. Such is the case of fact, with which the sceptic has to contend, when he affects to reject the scriptural proof of the Ishmaelitish origin of the Arabians: and the case of fact being such, however questionable the historical morality of the proceeding, we may at least give future objectors credit, on the score of *prudence*, if they elude, as Mr. Gibbon has done, a direct encounter with it.

But the scriptural evidences of the descent from Ishmael will go far to determine a further important question, essentially connected with the subject of the present work; namely, the *proportion* in which the posterity of this patriarch may be understood to constitute the population of *Mahometan* Arabia. For the subsequent diffusion in a given country, of any particular race of men, has generally been found to keep pace with the extent of its political predominance in ancient times.

Now the Hebrew Scriptures abound with every form of proof, that the Ishmaelites, in those remote ages, enjoyed and exercised a paramount sovereignty over the peninsula. So complete, indeed, was their political ascendancy, that, in the idiom of the Old Testament, the term Ishmaelite, or

Hagarite, is used as synonymous with that of Arab. In process of time, the ascendancy of Ishmael appears, from Scripture, to have centered in the family of Kedar *; and such, thenceforward, became the prominence of this single tribe, that "the tongue of Kedar" is the scriptural equivalent for the language of Arabia; and in the prophets (who expatiate in glowing descriptions of the wealth and glory of this people), Kedar stands as the representative of the whole Arab race. On the ordinary principles of population, consequently, there is conclusive ground to presume, that, with the growth of his power, the blood also of Ishmael diffused itself over Arabia; and that this blood, at the present day, predominates in the veins of the Bedouens. In fine, the authority of the scriptural testimonies, concerning the posterity of Ishmael, and their fortunes in the colonization of Arabia, being, on every received principle of historical evidence, unquestionable, the scepticism which presumes to challenge, without the shadow of a proof, the affiliation claimed by the Saracens, must be prepared knowingly and wilfully to run counter to the concurrent experience and judgment of mankind.

2. From the foregoing inquiry into the validity of the proof supplied by the Hebrew Scriptures, respecting the extraction of the Arabs, we now come to the discussion of a separate question, which Mr. Gibbon has thought fit to raise, concerning the independent existence and authority, on the same subject, of Arabian tradition. According to this eminent writer, the Arabs themselves possessed no national tradition, and retained no national memory, of their Ishmaelitic origin: but received, on the contrary, their earliest and only genealogical lights, through the medium of recent Jewish and Christian settlers, in and near the commencement of the Christian era.

* In a similar manner, the house of Israel merged in the tribe of Judah; and with corresponding effects: the name of *Jew* becoming synonymous with that of *Hebrew*; and *Judæa* and *Canaan*, equivalent terms.

The persecutions under Titus and Hadrian had filled Arabia with Jews; those subsequently carried on against the early heretics, with Christian exiles. By both classes of colonists, copies of the Hebrew Scriptures were gradually introduced and circulated, in an Arabic version; and, in the perusal of the Mosaic records, the Arabs made the *discovery* of their Abrahamic descent.*

Such, in substance, is the gratuitous account, which we are called upon to receive, as a full solution of the acknowledged phenomena; without the production of a single historical fact or voucher to support it. Even on a first view, however, this ingenious theory seems to labour under rather a serious difficulty. For, had the pagan Arabs indeed derived their first acquaintance with the name of Ishmael, and the history of their own origin, from the Jewish Scriptures, and by the instrumentality of Jewish or Christian instructors, it is scarcely credible that they should have gone so far, as to adopt and glory in their Abrahamic pedigree, without being led onward to some acquaintance with the faith of Abraham; and to the recognition, if not the adoption, either of Judaism or of Christianity.

If, indeed, we admit the pre-existence of traditional lights on the subject, this consequence will not equally follow.† But assuming, with Mr. Gibbon, the discovery of the origin to have been *recent* in the first century, it seems unavoidable. National vanity must, on this supposition, have combined with missionary zeal, to open the hearts of the Arabs

* Compare *Decline and Fall*, ch. 1.

† *Time*, on this supposition, may be conceived to have hallowed the national corruptions of the true doctrine; and, like the Jewish and Romish traditionists, the idolatrous Arabs might contend, that *their superstition* was the true Abrahamic faith. On the other hand, had the very notion of an Abrahamic origin been new, the Saracens could hardly have persuaded themselves that their idolatry was the genuine religion of Abraham; but would rather be led to look for instruction from the Jews and Christians, from whom they received the story of their pedigree.

to the reception of the religion professed by their father Abraham, as revealed in the Old Testament, and confirmed by the New. No trace, however, of so natural a result is to be found among the idolaters of Mecca. With the tribe of Koreish, which valued itself so highly on its derivation from Ishmael, the direct contrary is ascertained to have been the case. The worship of the Koreish, from time immemorial to the age of Mahomet, consisted in the rites of a gross, unrelieved heathenism; where *Abraham* and *Ishmael*, according to the most approved accounts of the Caaba*, stood conspicuous among the idols.† Such was the state of religion in ante-Mahometan Arabia: it may safely be left to the decision of common sense, how far this state of religious belief consists with the hypothesis framed by Mr. Gibbon.

But the hypothesis involves a consequence, which brings it at once to the practical test of historical fact and experience. For it plainly assumes, and rests itself on the assumption, that the Arabs, until the age immediately prior to the Christian era, remained wholly in the dark on the subject of their Ishmaelitic parentage: it prepares us to be informed, and purports indirectly to inform us, that no traces of this parentage, previously to the time above specified, are discoverable in the national rites or usages of a people, proverbially tenacious of their ancient customs; and whose manners in their native deserts, like the inflexible laws of

* It is a noted fact, that Mahometans constantly maintain, that the Caaba was built or restored, by Abraham and Ishmael. On this tradition, the learned Reland observes, — "*Credibile est hanc domum fuisse aliquis ex patriarchis gentis Ismaeliticæ, quam posterius uti sacram coluerunt.*" De Relig. Mohamm. p. 118. *note m.* The conjecture would be a still more probable one, had he supposed it to have been originally a *place of worship*, or *temple*, erected by some later patriarch descended from Ishmael. Its *antiquity*, as a temple, is certainly high. See Diodorus Siculus, as quoted by Mr. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. ix. p. 245.

† Abulfed. *Annal. Muslem.* tom. i. pp. 150—153. Cf. Ebn Al Athir, and Al Jannabi, ap. Pocock, *Specim.* p. 98, 99.

the Medes and Persians, have been never known to favour or endure a change.*

The inquiry remains open to us, whether the ascertained facts of Arabian antiquity correspond with this arbitrary theory; whether such notices of the customs of the ancient Arabians, as history has transmitted, be compatible with that state of unconsciousness, in which they are represented to have lain, down to a comparatively recent date, on the subject of their descent from Ishmael and Abraham?

The question may be brought to a compendious issue, upon a well-known national custom; the practice, by the ancient Arabs, of the rite of circumcision. There has been some waste of learning, on the part of writers of a certain class, with a view to invalidate the divine institution of this rite, as practised originally by the Jews: and Moses is gravely convicted of having borrowed it from the Egyptians, among whom, in common with the Ethiopians, Arabians, and other eastern nations, it was primitively in use. Now, it might have been remembered, that the divine institution of any rite or observance, may consist, quite as much, and as well, in something peculiar in the *mode* of its performance, as in the mere fact of the appointment. Isaac, for example, was circumcised, by God's commandment, on the eighth day after his birth; the period of his circumcision passed as a law to all his posterity; it became incorporated with the law of Moses; and this divinely-authorized peculiarity served and sufficed, to distinguish the Jewish rite, from the various modes of circumcision in use among Gentile nations.

As Isaac, according to the commandment of Jehovah, was circumcised on the eighth day, so Ishmael, in obedience to the same divine authority, had been previously received

* Let Mr. Gibbon himself be our authority for the statement: "The same life is uniformly pursued by the roving tribes of the desert; and in the portrait of the modern *Bedouens*, we may trace the features of their ancestors, who, *in the age of Moses or Mahomet*, dwelt under similar tents, and conducted their horses, and camels, and sheep, to the same springs, and the same pastures." *Decline and Fall*, vol. ix. p. 223, 224.

into covenant with the God of his father Abraham, by the same rite of circumcision, in his thirteenth year. The sign itself, it is certain, remained among his reputed descendants. But whether it remained in use, as transmitted from him, is a question which can be determined, only by our knowledge of the received origin, and the manner of administering the rite, as it was preserved in the practice of the ancient Arabs. Now their national usage and tradition on this highly important point of evidence, it fortunately happens, are among the few scattered fragments of Arabian antiquity, which have escaped the ravages of time, and which stand incidentally recorded, by writers of competent and independent authority; living sufficiently near, also, to the country and the times of which they treat, to rank as authoritative witnesses.

Josephus has a very remarkable passage, touching on the origin of circumcision among the Jews and Arabs: in which he first makes mention of the circumcision of Isaac; then introduces that of Ishmael; and states concerning each, as matter of universal and immemorial notoriety, that the Jews and the Arabians severally practised the rite, conformably with the precedents given them, in the persons of their respective fathers. His words are these: — “Now when Sarah had completed her ninetieth, and Abraham his hundredth year, a son (Isaac) is born unto them: whom they forthwith circumcise on the eighth day; and from him the Jews derive their custom, of circumcising children after the same interval. But the Arabians administer circumcision at the close of the thirteenth year: for Ishmael, the founder of their nation, the son of Abraham by his concubine, was circumcised at that time of life.” *

* Ἀυτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐνενήκοντα εἶχεν ἐτη, ἑκατὸν δὲ Ἀβραμὸς. τιττεται δὲ παῖς ἑκατέρων τῷ ὕδατι εἰτε ὅν εὐθὺς μετ’ ὀγδοὴν ἡμέραν περιτεμνοῦσι. καὶ ἐκεῖνου, μετὰ τσαυτὰς ἡμέρας, ἔθος ἔχουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ποιεῖσθαι τὰς περιτομὰς. Ἀραβες δὲ, μετὰ ἐτος τρισκαίδεκατον· Ἰσμαῆλος γὰρ ὁ κτίστης αὐτῶν τοῦ εθνους, Ἀβραμῷ γενομένος ἐκ τῆς παλλακῆς, ἐν τούτῳ περιτεμνεται τῷ χρόνῳ. Flav. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. x. § 5. p. 26. ed. Hudson.

This testimony occurs in the first century of the Christian era; that is, nearly at the *commencement* of the period, from whence Mr. Gibbon has undertaken to date the first discovery to the Arabs, of their Ishmaelitish origin. It records an existing national usage, as, from time immemorial, obtaining throughout the peninsula; which, if it prevailed according to the circumstances stated by Josephus, must be finally decisive of the question. For, if the Arabians of old circumcised their children at the age of thirteen years, in consequence and commemoration of their descent from Ishmael, who was himself circumcised at that period, there can no doubt remain on any reasonable mind, that the memory of their origin was preserved among them by an independent tradition. But the circumstances under which he wrote are conclusive to show, that the statement of Josephus, in this instance, gives a correct representation of the facts. This historian lived in the adjoining country of Judea, where the customs and manners of Arabia, from constant intercourse with its inhabitants, must have been perfectly well known. He composed his history pretty obviously with a view to the information of his Roman masters; and was little likely, therefore, to insert a figment relating to his own times, and which could be at once exposed by every Arab soldier in the camp, or slave in the court, of Vespasian.

But the matter itself held out no temptation for a fabricator; since the question about the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael had not been so much as raised: and Josephus introduces the fact, and the custom arising out of it, in that incidental way, which bespeaks a perfect unconsciousness of their being applicable to any use, beyond an ordinary historical illustration. The position and opportunities of the writer, the notoriety of the matter of fact asserted, the facilities of exposure, if untrue, and the dearth of motives, in this instance, for the fabrication of a falsehood, thus combine to establish the authority of this testimony; and, in so doing, to demonstrate the independent existence, in Arabia, of an unbroken tradition, preserving among the Arabs, through

the surest possible medium, that of a permanent national rite, the memory of their descent from Ishmael.

To this testimony of Josephus, may now be added a similar testimony from Origen. This learned ancient merely touches upon the point, in the way of illustration. But the incidental manner of his evidence sensibly augments its value. "The natives of Judea," Origen states, "generally circumcise their children on the eighth day: but the Ishmaelites, who inhabit Arabia, universally practise circumcision in the thirteenth year. For this," he subjoins, "*history* tells us concerning them." *

This writer, as well as Josephus, lived near the spot; and had, probably, himself opportunities of learning particulars respecting the Arabians. But his testimony is chiefly valuable, as showing that, in his day, the beginning of the third century, the original testimony of the Jewish historians, as to the tradition possessed by the Arabians of their descent from Ishmael, was credited and uncontradicted.

But Josephus further establishes the existence of an unbroken tradition in Arabia, respecting the descent from Ishmael, in another important statement; resting, like the former, on his own knowledge of the facts, as they still existed in his day. It is where, following the narrative of Genesis, he makes mention of the names, and settlement in

* Origen introduces the two national customs, in illustration of the absurdity of astrological calculations. Οὐκ οἶδα δ' ὅπως δυνήσονται σωσαί, το τῶν μὲν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ σχεδὸν πάντων τοιοῦδε εἶναι τὸν σχηματισμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γεννεσεως, ὡς οἰκταήμερον αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν περιτομὴν. . . . τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἰσμηλιταῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν, τοιοῦδε, ὡς πάντας περιτεμνεσθαι τρισκαιδεκαετείς. τοῦτο γὰρ ἱστορεῖται περὶ αὐτῶν. Origen. in Gen. Op. tom. ii. p. 16. ed. Bened.

The reader will not fail to contrast the expression *σχεδὸν πάντων*, applied to the circumcision of the Jews, with that of *ὡς πάντας*, when speaking of that in use among the Arabs. According to Origen, the eighth day was only the general period among the Jews, but the thirteenth year, the universal period among the Arabians, for practising the rite of circumcision. For the connection of this national usage with Ishmael and Abraham, cf. Id. tom. i. p. 614.

Arabia, of the twelve sons of Ishmael. They occupied, he tells us, the country between the Euphrates and the Red Sea; and gave this region the name of Nabatena. These patriarchs, he adds, conferred their own names upon the entire nation of the Arabs, and upon their several tribes.* By which last remark, the historian plainly intends to intimate, that the Arabian tribes deriving from Ishmael, were, in his time, severally known and distinguished, by the names of those sons of Ishmael, who were their respective progenitors. The fact is abundantly authenticated by subsequent authorities.

In the fourth century, Saint Jerome, in his commentary on Jeremiah, describes Kedar, as a country of the Arabian desert, inhabited by the Ishmaelites, who were then termed Saracens.† The same Father, in his comment on Isaiah,

* Ανδρωθεντι δη τω παιδι γυναιον αgetαι, τω γενος Αιγυπτιον· ενθεν δ' ην και αυτη το αρχαιον. εξ του παιδες Ισμαηλω γινονται δωδεκα παντες· Ναβαιωθης, Κηδαρος, Αβδεηλος, Μασσαμας, Ιδουμας, Μασμαος, Μασσαος, Χοδαζος, Θεμανος, Ιετουρος, Ναφαισος, Καδμας. ουτοι πασαν την απ' Ευφρατου καθηκουσαν προς την Ερυθραν θαλασσαν κατοικουσι, Ναβαατην ην την χωραν ονομασαντες, εισι δε ουτοι οι των Αραβων εθνος, και τας φυλας απ' αυτων καλουσι. δια τε την αρετην αυτων, και δια το Αβραμω αξιωμα. Ant Jud. l. i. c. xii. § 4. p. 30. Where Josephus does not deny the existence of other tribes, but asserts the *supremacy* of the Ishmaelites. The fact is equally legible in heathen writers. Thus Plutarch speaks των Αραβων, τους καλουμενους Ναβαταιους, in Demetr. p. 895. And Strabo observes Ναβαταιοι εισιν οι Ιδουμαιοι. See the names Ναβαιωθης and Ηδουμας, in the catalogue given by Josephus of the sons of Ishmael. Antiq. Jud. lib. i. cap. 13.

† “*Onus in Arabia, &c.* Quærenti mihi, et diu cum deliberatione tractanti quæ esset Arabia, ad quam propheticus sermo dirigitur, utrum *Moabitæ*, an *Ammonitæ*, et *Idumæi*, cunctæque aliæ regiones, quæ nunc et Arabia nuncupantur, occasionem tribuit in hac eadem Visione quod sequitur: *Auferetur omnis gloria Cedar, et reliquæ numeri sagittariorum fortium de filiis Cedar imminuentur*: ISMAELITAS debere intelligi. Liber Geneseos docet ex Ismaele, Cedar et Agarenos, qui, *perverso nomine*, Saraceni vocantur, esse genitos. Hi per totam habitant solitudinem. Latissima eremus ab India ad Mauritaniam usque tendatur, et Atlanticum Oceanum, quod puto Jeremiæ titulum sonare: — *Ad Cedar, et ad regna*

again speaks of Kedar, as the country of the Saracens, who in Scripture are called Ishmaelites. And observes of Nabaioth, that he was one of the sons of Ishmael, after whose names the Arabian desert is called.*

We possess, then, it appears, unexceptionable testimony to this fact, that various districts of Arabia retained, to a period comparatively modern, designations originally derived from the sons of Ishmael, by whom Scripture states them to have been peopled. Over and above the notices of these districts by their several names, to be found in the Old Testament, we have historical mention of some of them, in uninspired writers.† One appellation, in particular,

Asor, &c. Totum prophetiæ testimonium de Jeremia posui, ut quæ sit Cedar indubitanter intelligas. Et considera quomodo Ismaelitarum, hoc est Saracenorum, proprie gentem descripserit, *qui habitant in tentoriis*," &c. S. Hieron. in Jerem. Op. tom. iv. pp. 217, 218. edit. Veron. 1735.

* "*Madian et Ephra* regiones sunt trans Arabiam, fertiles Camelorum, omnisque provincia appellatur Saba, unde fuit et Saba regina, quæ venit sapientiam audire Salomonis. et ipsa deferens aurum et thus, pacifico regi multa deportans, et ab eo majora suscipiens. Cedar autem regio Saracenorum est, qui in Scriptura vocantur Ismaelitæ. Et Nabaioth unus est filiorum Ismael, ex quorum nominibus solitudo appellatur, quæ frugum inops, plena est pecorum." S. Hieron. Comment. in Isai. lib. xvii. cap. ix. Op. tom. iv. p. 721, 722.

"Strabo frequently mentions the Arabian *phylarchs*, as he denominates them, or rulers of tribes. And Melo, quoted by Eusebius from Alexander Polyhistor, a heathen historian, relates, that Abraham [Ishmael], of his Egyptian wife, begat twelve sons; who, departing into Arabia, *divided the region between them*, and were the first kings of the inhabitants; whence even to our days, *the Arabians have twelve kings, of the same names as the first.*" Bp. Newton on Proph. v. i. p. 223.

† The testimony of Strabo, so far as it goes, is in substance the same as that cited from St. Jerome. Πρωτοι δ' ὑπερ της Συριας Ναβαταιοι και Σαβαιοι την ευδαιμονα Αραβιαν νεμονται, και πολλακις κατετρεχον αυτης, πριν η Ρωμαιων γενεσθαι — Μητροπολις δε των Ναβαταιων εστιν η Πετρα καλουμενα — Εξω δε του περιβολου, χωρα ερημος η πλειστη, και μαλις η προς Ιουδαιαν. Geograph. l. xvi. p. 1106. ed. Oxon. 1807.

Having noticed in another passage, the neighbourhood of the Sabæans to the Bedowæens,—[Τοις Νομαδοις] συναπτιει δ' η των Σαβαιων ευδαιμονεστατη;

given by Josephus as the most prominent, that of Nabatene, or Nabatea, from Nebaioth*, the eldest of the sons of Ishmael, is familiar to the learned at the present day, as the *classical* name for Arabia Petræa.

Now, evidence of this kind, once clearly brought out, is peculiarly forcible and conclusive. For there are no land-

(p. 1105.), Strabo thus describes these wandering tribes, — *Και μετα ταυτην κολποι τινες, και χωρα Νομαδων, απο καμηλων εχοντων τον βιον· και γαρ πολεμουσιν απ' αυτων, και οδουνουσι, και τρεφονται τω τε γαλακτι χρωμενοι, και ταις σαρξι.* p. 1104.

He adds, that the Arab tribes are distinguished from each other, by names of remote antiquity; and, from his mention of the Nabateans, it is a fair presumption, that, had he completed his catalogue, the names of other sons of Ishmael (agreeably to the statements of Josephus, of Origen, and of St. Jerome) would have occurred in it. That we do not meet them in the classics, is not, however, to be wondered at; for the Grecian geographer loftily apprizes us, that he cannot charge his tongue or his pen with such obscure and unpronounceable appellations: *ου λεγω δε των εθνων τα ονοματα παλαια δια την αδοξian, και αμα αποπιαν της εκφορας αυτων.* p. 1104. Perhaps, indeed, we should not have been much enlightened by his nomenclature, if we may judge by a specimen, — *καλουνται δε Δεβαι.*

But Strabo's words, which recognize *των εθνων τα ονοματα παλαια*, in conjunction with the known derivation of one country and people of Arabia mentioned by him, viz. *Ναβατηνη*, and *Ναβαταιοι*, from Nebaioth, are a highly valuable confirmation of the Jewish and Christian testimonies, to the existence of Arab nations named after the sons of Ishmael, down to so late a period as the first ages of the Christian era.

Upon one national appellative occurring in Strabo, learned conjecture has been busy: it is where he speaks of the expedition of Gallus: *η δε εξης ην επηει Νομαδων ην, ερημος τα πολλα ως αληθως, εκαλειτο δε Αραρηνη. βασιλευς δ' ην Σαβος. και ταυτην ανοδιαis διηλθε, κατατριψας ημερας πεντηκοντα, μεχρι πολews Αγρανων.* Lib. xvi. p. 1109.

For *Αγρανων*, one editor proposes to substitute *αγραίων*, and another, *Ατρανων*, vel *Ατρηνων*. Both various readings would seem to explain the *ignotum per ignotius*. In a case of confessed difficulty, the author may venture to submit as his conjecture, — for *Αραρηνη*, read *Αγαρηνη*, and for *Αγρανων*, *Αγαρηνων*. — which restores a consistent sense, and re-conducts us to the Ishmaelitic origin of the Arabian family. So Psalm lxxxiii. we find, “the *Ishmaelites* and *Hagarenes*.” — LXX. οί *Αγαρηνοι*.

* So, again, *Iturea*, from *Jetur*.

narks of history more universal, or more permanent, than the names of countries affixed by original settlers. We may as justly question the derivations of Hungary from the Huns, France from the Franks, England from the Angles, Turkey from the Turks, or, to come nearer to the point in question, of Judea from Judah and the Jews, as those of the several districts of Arabia, from the respective sons of Ishmael. The proof drawn from Scripture is thus, therefore, corroborated and completed, by a collateral and independent proof derived from Arabian tradition.

A new and broader light is thrown on this branch of the argument, when we proceed to connect these external evidences of a constant tradition among the Arabs, on the subject of their Ishmaelitish parentage, with the internal marks of the existence of such a tradition*, which abound in the Koran, and in the early Mahometan writers.

The Koran contains a great variety of particulars relating to preceding Prophets; partly corresponding with Scripture history; but presenting, in the great majority of examples, either gross corruptions of, or total departures from, the sacred text. Many of these stories relate spe-

* A correspondence of a different kind from any noticed in the text, may here be mentioned, which seems peculiarly corroborative of the common origin of the Jews and the Arabians. The computation of time is among the most general, and the most fixed, of national usages: in few respects have nations been less disposed to vary, or to borrow from each other. But in their kalendars, the Jews and the ante-Mahometan Arabs coincided; and the Arabic division of months is ascertained by the learned, to have been *the only division of time* coincident with that of the Hebrew Scriptures. See Hyde, *De Religione Veterum Persarum*, p. 239.

Another strong mark of common origin and common moral law, may be seen in the agreement between the Jews and the ante-Mahometan Arabians, respecting *the prohibited degrees of marriage*. Compare Sale, P. D. p. 181., with the prohibitions of the Mosaic law.

A third indication of their Abrahamic origin might be noticed, in the abstinence from swine's flesh, which was not more religiously observed by the Jews, than by the ancient Arabians. See Mill. *De Mohamm. ante Moham n.* § xx.

cially to Abraham and Ishmael; and purport to give their history, as connected with the Arabians. These last accounts, Mahomet is generally, and not unreasonably, supposed to have borrowed from the Hebrew Scriptures; which he thus perverted, to accommodate them to his own purposes and views. The Koran itself, however, has some internal marks, which render it more than doubtful, that this could have been uniformly the case. For it repeatedly appeals to the acquaintance of the pagan Arabs themselves, with the stories it relates, as matters of old national tradition; and it introduces the still stronger evidence of their own testimony, to the same effect, in their constant reply to Mahomet and his doctrines, that what he taught them was nothing more than “fables of the ancients.” So in the chapter intitled *The Bee*: — “When it is said unto them (the pagan Arabs) what hath your Lord sent down unto Mohammed? they answer, *Fables of ancient times.*” * Again, in the chapter termed *The true Believers*: — “But the unbelieving Meccans say, as their predecessors said: they say, When we shall be dead, and have become dust and bones, shall we really be raised to life? We have already been threatened, and our fathers also heretofore: this is nothing but *fables of the ancients.*” †

From these passages, as indeed from the general structure of the Koran, it seems unquestionable, that Mahomet’s habit was to re-produce to his idolatrous countrymen, in his pretended revelation, national traditions with which the Arabs were prescriptively familiar. ‡ For it is perfectly in-

* Sale’s Koran, vol. ii. p. 78.

† Ibid. pp. 183, 184.

‡ “The learned Levinus Warnerus, in his treatise of the manners of the Arabians before Mahometanism, asserts, that the Korisians or Koreish, the most noble tribe of that great peninsula, had preserved themselves from idolatry; that they had constantly used circumcision, ever since the time of Ishmael; that they were frequent in prayer, were very bountiful in their alms, and that the more devout among them never drank wine.” Vertot, *History of the Knights of Malta*, vol. i. p. 230. English Translation.